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CONTENTS

SPECIAL ANABAPTIST THEOLOGY NUMBER

EDITORIAL 4

THE ANABAPTIST CONCEPTION OF THE CHURCH 5
Erland Waltner, Bethel College

THE ANABAPTIST CONCEPTION OF THE CHURCH IN THE RUSSIAN MENNONITE ENVIRONMENT 1789-1870 17
Robert Kreider, Chicago, Illinois

THE ANABAPTIST CONCEPTION OF THE CHURCH IN THE AMERICAN MENNONITE ENVIRONMENT 34
S. F. Pannabecker, Mennonite Biblical Seminary

THE HUTTERITE MENTAL HEALTH STUDY 47
Joseph W. Eaton, Robert J. Weil, and *Bert Kaplan*

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH NOTES 66
AN ANCIENT ANABAPTIST WITNESS FOR NONRESISTANCE
Samuel Geiser, Brügg bei Biel, Canton Bern, Switzerland

BOOK REVIEWS 70
Willard H. Smith and Verna Graber Smith, *Paraguayan Interlude*
Reviewed by Henry A. Fast
Mary Emma Showalter, *Mennonite Community Cookbook*
Reviewed by Olive G. Wyse

EDITORIAL

ONE YEAR AGO THE "REVIEW" PUBLISHED AN OUTSTANDING SERIES OF PAPERS ON Anabaptist Thology, the harvest of the first Seminar on Anabaptist Theology held in April, 1949, at Goshen College. Papers from the second seminar, held in April, 1950, at the Mennonite Biblical Seminary in Chicago, constitute the major part of the current second "Special Anabaptist Theology Number." They are three in number, being those read by President S. F. Pannabecker, Professor Erland Waltner, and Robert Kreider. The fourth major paper, the one by Professor Wilhelm Pauck on "The Reformers' Conception of the Church" will appear in a later issue.

It was fitting that the church-concept be studied early in the series of Anabaptist Theology Seminars as planned jointly by the two Mennonite seminaries in Goshen and Chicago, for certainly this is a major issue in Christianity as well as a central point in Anabaptist theology. There would probably never have been an Anabaptist movement if the reformers had followed through consistently on their first premises of justification by personal faith in Christ and the sole and real authority of the Scripture, for implicit in these two principles is the believers' church of holy discipleship. It was the great tragedy of the reformation that all its great leaders, Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Knox, and Cranmer alike, chose rather the road of the institutional mass church than the church of the brotherhood of "those who would be earnest Christians," and thus diluted historic Christianity in its Protestant form to the point that the fully Christian way of life as intended by Christ and the gospel was never even attempted. The gospel critique was not applied to the medieval social order; love could not become the reigning principle; brotherhood could not take the place of upper-class domination and exploitation; war and violence were not eradicated but endorsed and employed. It is true that the high concept of the church as held by the Anabaptists required a high type of Christian experience and personality, but who can read the gospel and the epistles with open eyes and a ready heart and deny that this is what Christ intended. The gathered church of regenerated committed disciples is the only New Testament church concept and it is the only way to achieve the goal of the kingdom of God on earth which Jesus announced. The present state of the world, which is the state into which western Christendom (the Christendom of the mass church) has brought it, is proof enough of this claim. Professor Waltner expounds carefully and systematically this New Testament-Anabaptist church concept with good use of the original sources and previous studies by Anabaptist scholars in his article "The Anabaptist Conception of the Church."

The assignment of Kreider and Pannabecker in the seminar was to follow through the application of this original church concept as the Anabaptist-Mennonites attempted it in their largest and most continuous free fields of historical development, in Russia and in North America. Similar studies might have been made in Holland and in Germany. Kreider's study of the experiment in Russia constitutes a strong antidote to Mennonite complacency, for before our eyes he unfolds a story of retrogression toward the mass church concept which comes near to being an abandonment of original Anabaptism. It is shocking to read of the aberrations and violations of essential original Angaptist principles which arose under the pattern of colonization and church life which developed in the Russian environment. Not that the ideal was completely abandoned, or that it was never restored. Witness the Kleine Gemeinde, the Brüdergemeinde, and the revitalization in the old church. One cannot read this paper without being challenged by the most searching questions and becoming aware of the tremendous difficulties of what Kreider calls "the ceaseless task of creating a brotherhood in the dynamic sense."

The American Mennonites came off somewhat better in Pannabecker's study, though by no means unscathed. He points out the constant struggle to maintain the ideal, the dangers and frequent lapses along the way, the variegated pattern of success. The dangers of emotionalization, secularization, and authoritarianism are clearly pointed out. The tremendous scope of Pannabecker's assignment prevented him from going very deeply into any period or area, and it is clear that a more careful tracing of the church ideal and practice in the major groups would have made possible a more fully developed picture, but we are grateful for this first analysis. It is an undertaking which, for the lessons which it can give for the present and future, must be pursued diligently. In fact, here is one of the places where historical study can be of the most direct benefit to the current life of the church. We profess still to follow the Anabaptist conception of the church, for we hold it to be the scriptural one. But what of our practice? What are the forces and processes for revitalization and better achievement of our ideal, and what the dangers to be combatted? The papers in this issue are a worthy contribution toward the answers to these questions.

(Continued on page 16)

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THE ANABAPTIST CONCEPTION OF THE CHURCH

ERLAND WALTNER

Even a cursory reading of contemporary theology reveals that modern Protestantism is seeking a more satisfying ecclesiology. In *Man's Disorder and God's Design,* the official report of the Amsterdam Assembly in 1948, an introductory passage on the doctrine of the church declares, "The first fact to face is that there is no agreed Christian interpretation of the church."[1] The accuracy of this observation is then amply illustrated in the variety of interpretations which appear in the pages following this introduction.[2] Don E. Smucker's review of contemporary theology at the Anabaptist Seminar at Goshen, Indiana, last year confirms the same observation.[3] The ecclesiology of Protestantism, therefore, is by no means a closed issue.

The calling of this Seminar indicates a revival of interest in Anabaptist ecclesiology. Several notable studies in this area, made by scholars outside of the Anabaptist stream, have no doubt helped to instigate this revival. Among these studies is one by Fritz Heyer (Lutheran) on *Der Kirchenbegriff der Schwärmer*[4] and another by Franklin H. Littell (Methodist) on "The Anabaptist

[1] *Man's Disorder and God's Design,* The Amsterdam Assembly Series (New York, 1948), 17.

[2] These include articles by Gustaf Aulén, Clarence T. Craig, George Florovsky, J. A. F. Gregg, and Karl Barth, 18-76.

[3] Don E. Smucker, "Anabaptist Theology in the Light of Modern Theological Trends," *MQR,* XXIV, 1:73-87, January, 1950.

[4] Fritz Heyer, *Der Kirchenbegriff der Schwärmer* (Leipzig, 1939).

Doctrine of the Church."[5] Helpful contributions in this area are also found in two new publications of the Mennonite Historical Society, namely, Robert Friedmann, *Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries,*[6] and Harold S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel.*[7] Mention must also be made of John C. Wenger's *Glimpses of Mennonite History and Doctrine*[8] and his articles on the theology of Pilgram Marpeck in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review,*[9] Harold S. Bender's article, "The Anabaptist Vision,"[10] and Cornelius Krahn's biography of *Menno Simons*[11] which includes an excellent statement on "Mennos Gemeindebegriff im Rahmen seiner Theologie." It is this writer's thought that it is time for this last-named work to appear in English so that its values may be shared by non-German readers.

Approaching his assignment, not as a research scholar, but as a preacher and teacher who depends mainly on secondary sources for his information, the writer proposes to summarize a few basic observations on the Anabaptist doctrine of the church which may become the basis of further thought and discussion. Even in attempting this, however, obvious difficulties arise. Since the term *Anabaptism* designates a movement which was by no means homogeneous in its early stages, it may be questioned whether we may speak of *the* Anabaptist doctrine of the church. Moreover, as Anabaptist doctrine was forged in the heat of controversy and amidst the fires of persecution we can hardly expect to find it offering systematic and precise theological formulas on ecclesiology or on any other subject. It has been repeatedly observed that Anabaptists were not systematic theologians. They were more concerned about the practical application rather than the theoretical explanation of the Bible. Furthermore, in the infancy of a religious movement, doctrine is not crystallized and emphases may vary from decade to decade, or even from year to year. The delineation of a particular doctrine at one moment in the history of a movement may or may not be characteristic of the movement as a whole. Littell is probably correct in stating that in the writings of Menno Simons we may

[5] Franklin H. Littell, *The Anabaptist View of the Church* (To be published by The American Society of Church History).

[6] Robert Friedmann, *Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries* (Goshen, Indiana, 1949).

[7] Harold S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel* (Goshen, Indiana, 1950).

[8] John C. Wenger, *Glimpses of Mennonite History and Doctrine* (Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1947).

[9] John C. Wenger, "The Theology of Pilgram Marpeck," *MQR,* XII, 4:205-56, October, 1938.

[10] Harold S. Bender, "The Anabaptist Vision," *MQR,* XVIII, 2:67-88, April, 1944.

[11] Cornelius Krahn, *Menno Simons* (1491-1561) *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Theologie der Taufgesinnten* (Karlsruhe, 1936), 108.

expect to find "the final elaboration of a mature Anabaptist church-view. By the time of his death (1561) all necessary lines had been drawn. The Anabaptist Church view had attained its historical and sociological maturity."[12]

To be properly understood, therefore, Anabaptist ecclesiology must be studied in the light of its entire historical and theological context. Especially significant in this background are the Anabaptist view of the Bible, their eschatology, and their philosophy of history.

For Conrad Grebel and Menno Simons alike the written Word, rather literally interpreted, constituted the final court of appeals in matters of Christian faith and practice. Neither church traditions, nor the visions of the chiliastic prophets nor the "inner light" of the *Spiritualisten* could be allowed the place of authority held by the Bible. Anabaptists were Biblicists. Whereas the reformers were inclined to permit whatever was not expressly forbidden by the Bible, the Anabaptists insisted that "what is not taught by plain and clear Scripture or illustrated by the example of Christ or the apostles, is to be reckoned as 'anathema.' "[13] Moreover, their interpretation of the Scriptures was Christocentric while that of the reformers was theocentric. For the Anabaptists no final word on church ordinances or Christian ethics could come from the Old Testament but the whole Bible must be understood and interpreted in the light of Jesus Christ.[14] In their ecclesiology, therefore, they would tolerate nothing which could not be supported by "plain Scripture," and the heart of Scripture was for them the teaching and example of Christ and the apostles.

The significance of the eschatological context of Anabaptist ecclesiology can easily be exaggerated, yet it must be recognized. While the main stream of Anabaptism separated itself from the radical chiliasm of the Münsterites, it nevertheless retained a strong eschatological note. The prevailing expectation of the imminent return of Christ and the final judgment combined with the tremendous suffering endured by the Anabaptists under persecution undoubtedly played a significant role in the formation of their concept of the church, especially in the development of what Ethelbert Stauffer calls their "theology of martyrdom."[15] A striking parallelism may be drawn between the eschatology of the Ana-

[12] Littell, *op. cit.*, 113.

[13] Bender, *Conrad Grebel*, 206.

[14] Krahn, *op. cit.*, 108.

[15] Ethelbert Stauffer, "The Anabaptist Theology of Martyrdom," *MQR*, XIX, 3:179-214, July, 1945.

baptists and that of the apostolic church and the resultant ecclesiastical and ethical views.

Franklin H. Littell has called attention to the part which the view of history held by the Anabaptists may have played in the development of their church view. Describing their philosophy of history as a kind of "primitivism" which sought, not the creation of something new, but the *restitution* of something old, he observes that it was their sober aspiration to restore the "true church" which in apostolic days had enjoyed a glorious existence but in subsequent history had fallen into a state of corruption.[16] With these contextual considerations in view, we turn now to an examination of the content of Anabaptist ecclesiology itself.

The Nature of the Church

The Body of Christ

According to Anabaptist doctrine, the church in its vertical relationship is the body of Christ of which He is the real and living Head. Pilgram Marpeck wrote, *Christus ist das haubt seiner kierchen, die da ist sein leib aus seinem fleisch und aus seinen gebainen warhaftig geborn.*[17] Menno Simons echoed the same doctrine in saying, "For all who are in Christ are new creatures, flesh of his flesh, bone of his bone, and members of his body."[18]

The Anabaptists were not pleased with the reformers' distinction between a visible church which is earthly and impure and an invisible church which is heavenly and pure. Their practical concern was the actualization of a visible and true body of Christ on earth, which would be in accord with the New Testament pattern. They did make a sharp distinction, however, between the "true church," by which they meant themselves, and the "church of the antichrist," by which they meant the Roman church. At first the early Anabaptist leaders had expected Luther and Zwingli to establish the "true church" but later became convinced that the reformers would be satisfied with halfway measures, that they were sacrificing principles for expediency, and that they would never carry their original ecclesiastical ideals into actual realization. Thus it remained for the Brethren, as they saw it, to become the "true body" of Christ on earth. Menno Simons listed the following six earmarks by which the "true church of Christ" was to be distinguished:

[16] Littell, *op. cit.*, 129.

[17] Pilgram Marpeck in Johann Loserth, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Oberdeutschen Taufgesinnten im 16. Jahrhundert* (Wien und Leipzig, 1929), 477.

[18] Menno Simons, *Complete Works* (Elkhart, Indiana, 1871), I:161-2.

(1) By an unadulterated pure doctrine. . . . (2) By a Scriptural use of the sacramental signs. . . . (3) By obedience to the Word. . . . (4) By unfeigned brotherly love. . . . (5) By an unreserved confession of God and Christ. . . . (6) By oppression and tribulation for the sake of the Lord's word.[19]

The Fellowship of Believers

Viewed horizontally, the church was for the Anabaptists a voluntary fellowship (*Gemeinschaft*) of regenerated believers, a Christian brotherhood (*Bruderschaft*), a community (*Gemeinde*) of the redeemed. While Luther held that the church exists wherever "the gospel is preached in purity and the sacraments are properly administered" and thus could accept the concept of a *Volkskirche* or a *Landeskirche,* the Anabaptists held it to be completely un-Biblical to define the boundaries of the church according to sacramentarian rites or geographical lines. For them the church was not a "society of the baptized," nor was it primarily a "church of the elect" (Zwingli) but it was to be a "church of believers," that is, of those who personally accepted Christ and whose lives show "fruits of repentance." Menno Simons declared,

> those are the true church of Christ who were converted, who are born from above of God, who are of a regenerated mind and by the operation of the Holy Spirit from the hearing of the divine Word have become children of God; who obey him, and live, unblamably in his holy commandments and according to his holy will all their days, or after their calling.[20]

Anabaptist ecclesiology, then, conceived of the possibility of establishing a "true church" as a visible body of Christ, a fellowship of regenerated believers, living in obedience to the Word of Christ, and banded together voluntarily in Christian love. Regeneration—obedience—fellowship—brotherhood: these were the great words in this concept of the church.

The Actualization of the Church

The Preaching of the Word

The initial step in the actualization of this church of believers is the preaching of the Word. "So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." According to Grebel, "The church comes into existence through the preaching of the Word, through the voluntary acceptance of the Word of Truth, and through the consequent conversion and renewal of life of individual believers."[21]

[19] Menno Simons, *op. cit.,* II:83.
[20] Menno Simons, *op. cit.,* II:241.
[21] Bender, *Conrad Grebel,* 204.

In consequence, early Anabaptists became vigorous preachers of the Word, not only as a selected and officially ordained clergy, but also as a witnessing laity. Littell calls our attention to how seriously they took the Great Commission, noting that "the Anabaptists were the first to make the commission binding upon all church members."[22] Uprooted from settled living by fiery persecution and motivated by a burning missionary zeal, early Anabaptists became a church of itinerant missionary martyrs. Later, under changed conditions, this ardor unfortunately cooled.

The Necessity of Regeneration

The response of faith to the Word of God, according to Anabaptism, results in the new birth, or regeneration. For Menno Simons as well as for the Swiss Brethren this doctrine became a focal point of emphasis. A genuine repentance from sin together with a "living heart-faith" in Christ produces an inward change which manifests itself in outward conduct.[23] Instead of elaborating upon the precise nature of regeneration, Menno Simons emphasized its necessity and its results. Genuine faith must issue in obedience, he insisted. True regeneration issues in a life of practical holiness. One who is justified by faith becomes a sincere *Nachfolger Christi.* In this emphasis upon the practical results of regeneration, Menno Simons went beyond Luther's slogan of *sola fide* (faith alone).

Believers' Baptism

Convinced that neither Christ nor the apostles ever practiced infant baptism, Anabaptists rejected this rite as unscriptural. On the basis of Luke 18:16 they argued that it is not necessary for children to be baptized to be saved and that, in any case, it is the blood of Christ rather than the water of baptism that is efficacious in salvation. They remained unconvinced by the reformers' argument that infant baptism was justified on the basis of the Old Testament practice of circumcision.

Baptism became for them an outward sign of an inward change and "a pledge of obedience to Christ and of the purpose to walk according to Christ."[24] This implies that the candidate for baptism must have a degree of understanding (*Vernunft*) and that he must give visible evidence of regeneration before the water of baptism is to be administered. Michael Sattler in the Schleitheim Articles of

[22] Littell, *op. cit.*, 210.
[23] Krahn, *op. cit.*, 124, 127.
[24] Bender, *Conrad Grebel*, 207.

faith (1527) insisted that baptism be administered only to those "who believe of a truth that their sins have been taken away by Christ."[25] Menno Simons wrote,

> we are not regenerated because we have been baptized . . . but we are baptized because we are regenerated by faith in God's word as regeneration is not the result of baptism, but baptism is the result of regeneration.[26]

In the Anabaptist view, baptism has no sacramental quality but rather a symbolic significance. Krahn succinctly summarizes the view of Menno Simons when he says, *Die Taufe ist das Sinnbild der göttlichen Neuschöpfung, die als Gehorsamsakt gegen Gottes Befehl vollzogen wird.*[27]

The Lord's Supper

Anabaptists rejected both the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation and also Luther's view of consubstantiation in interpreting the Lord's Supper. Basically they agreed with the Zwinglian view that this ordinance has symbolic rather than sacramental significance. For Grebel the Lord's Supper was purely "a symbol of the fellowship of the brethren with one another and with Christ. . . . It is also a pledge of brotherly love and faithful sanctified Christian living."[28] For Michael Sattler and Pilgram Marpeck it was primarily a memorial of the death of Christ intended "for the refreshing, strengthening and comforting of the soul" and for the "proclamation of the gospel."[29] Menno Simons considered it, first, as a proclamation of the death of Christ; second, as a sign of Christian love and peace in the church; and third, a "fellowship of the flesh and blood of Christ."[30] It had been his doubts concerning the validity of the Mass that initiated the inner conflicts which finally led Menno Simons out of the Roman Catholic Church. In contrast with the strong sacramentarian view of the Catholics, Menno later attached a strong ethical significance to the Lord's Supper in that before partaking of it, members were required to examine themselves, and worthiness to partake was interpreted largely in ethical terms.[31]

[25] John Horsch, *Mennonites in Europe* (Scottdale, Pa., 1942), 72.
[26] Menno Simons, *op. cit.*, II:215.
[27] Krahn, *op. cit.*, 134.
[28] Bender, *Conrad Grebel*, 207.
[29] Wenger, *Glimpses of Mennonite History and Doctrine*, 248-50.
[30] Krahn, *op. cit.*, 140.
[31] Franklin H. Littell, "The Anabaptist Theology of Restitution," *MQR*, XXIV, 1:46, January, 1950.

While the practice of feet washing was not considered as significant as the observance of the Lord's Supper it was commonly associated with it as a symbol of humble, unselfish service toward fellow believers.[32] At the heart of these observances were the sense of fellowship with the sufferings of Christ and the sense of a closely knit Christian brotherhood.

Church Government

In church polity the Anabaptists took their position between the extremes of a papal hierarchy as represented by the Roman church on the one hand, and a radical individualism as represented by the *Spiritualisten* on the other. In his controversy with Schwenckfeld, Marpeck argued that believers' baptism and spiritual government were Biblical ordinances given by Christ for the maintenance of His church. Littell points out that drawing this line of distinction between the Anabaptist view and the views of the "inner light" group was tremendously important to the actualization of the Anabaptist church ideal.[33] He also says that the congregational principle of church government, now so widely accepted, was first introduced by Balthasar Hubmaier when he resigned his office as a priest and was immediately thereafter elected as minister by his Anabaptist congregation.[34]

While they developed no elaborate system of church government, the Anabaptists recognized the need for organization and an accepted leadership. If a minister needed financial support, however, the Anabaptists insisted that this must come from voluntary contributions of the membership. This principle stood in contrast to that of the state church in which ministers were supported through a tax. Menno Simons apparently recognized the right of a minister to receive financial assistance.[35] This does not imply that he thought of the clergy in terms of a full salaried profession. In fact, the whole emphasis of Anabaptism lies rather in opposition to the sharp distinction between clergy and laity which existed in the Roman church and was carried over, in modified form, into the reformed churches. Anabaptists sought a thoroughgoing application of the universal priesthood of believers by promoting vigorous lay participation. As has been noted before, they considered the Great Commission binding for lay members of the church as well as for the ministers.

[32] Krahn, *op. cit.*, 143; Horsch, *op. cit.*, 357-8.
[33] Littell, *Anabaptist View of the Church*, 95.
[34] *Ibid.*, 81.
[35] Krahn, *op. cit.*, 148-9.

Christian Brotherhood

The actualization of the Anabaptist church ideal also involved "the practice of true brotherhood and love among the members of the church."[36] In its more extreme form among the Hutterian Brethren this involved the repudiation of private property and the practice of Christian communism. However, even among the early Anabaptists who did not share this Hutterian view, the practice of Christian love involved the sharing of material goods in the spirit of true mutual aid. The tremendous importance of this charismatic quality in early Anabaptism in the actualization of the church has been stressed by Robert Friedmann in his discussions on "Anabaptism and Protestantism."[37]

The Maintenance of a "Pure" Church

The Practice of Church Discipline

To establish a relatively "pure" church of believers is one thing; to maintain its purity is quite another. Anabaptists, however, believed that the church in as far as possible must be kept "without spot or wrinkle." While they admitted that the church could not be perfect in the sense of being entirely free of unworthy members their earnest striving for a "pure" church called for the exercise of church discipline.

Menno Simons admitted the limitations of the practice of the church discipline when he said,

> the church can judge only as to the visible; but what is inwardly wicked, and not outwardly apparent to the church . . . of that God is to judge, for he alone tries the hearts and reins, and not the church.[38]

Despite such difficulties Anabaptists sought earnestly to maintain a "holy" church. This involved a concern for the moral and ethical conduct of all its members. The Roman church had dissolved the tension between the Biblical ethical ideals of Christian living and the actual situation by erecting a double standard, one for its clergy and one for its laity. The Lutheran Church attempted a solution by emphasizing the "inwardness" of Christian faith and being less concerned about outward conduct. The Reformed Church emphasized the "position" of the believer in the "church of the

[36] *MQR*, XVIII, 2:67, April, 1944.

[37] Robert Friedmann, "Anabaptism and Protestantism," *MQR*, XXIV, 1:23, January, 1950.

[38] Menno Simons, *op. cit.*, II:243.

elect" rather than ethical Christian living. Anabaptists, however, held as their ideal that all members must not only believe in but also live by New Testament standards.

When members of the church were found to be guilty of gross deviation from the Biblical standards of life, they were to be banned or excommunicated. The use of the ban against these erring members, however, was considered a "work of love" toward them, intended to win them back, and not as a punitive measure. In the application of the ban Menno Simons went further than the Swiss Brethren and included the practice of "avoidance" (*Meidung*) of those who had been banned. Unfortunately neither he nor his spiritual descendants were able to develop a completely acceptable method of church discipline. This principle became a point of controversy which led to many divisions among the Mennonites.

The Practice of Nonconformity

Maintenance of a "pure" church in the midst of a sinful society also implies some form of separation from the world. Drawing their slogans from the New Testament, Anabaptists declared that the church is "in the world" but not "of the world." In the Schleitheim Articles of Faith Michael Sattler wrote,

> A separation shall be made from the evil and from the wickedness which the devil planted in the world; in this manner, simply that we do not have fellowship with them (the wicked) and not run with them in the multitude of their abominations.[39]

Menno Simons likewise wrote, "All the evangelical Scriptures teach us that the church of Christ was and is, in doctrine, life and worship, a people separated from the world."[40]

Separation from the world also meant for them separation from the state which they considered a divinely ordained institution necessary to maintain order in an evil society, but operating on an entirely different plane than the church. Michael Sattler said, "The sword [the state] is ordained of God outside the perfection of Christ." Because the state employs the sword in the execution of its functions, and because Christ has commanded His followers not to use it, Sattler explains that "it is not appropriate for a Christian to serve as a magistrate because . . . the government magistracy is according to the flesh, but the Christian's is according to the spirit . . . their citizenship is in this world, but the Christian's

[39] *MQR*, XIX, 4:249, October, 1945.
[40] Menno Simons, *op. cit.*, II:37b.

citizenship is in heaven; the weapons of their conflict and war are carnal and against the flesh only, but the Christian's weapons are spiritual . . . ."[41]

Menno Simons did not go as far as the Swiss Brethren in separating the Christian from the state. While the latter saw the state primarily as a punitive institution, Menno believed that when the state is administered according to God's Word, it can be an aid to the kingdom of God. While the Swiss Brethren, considering the civil power as being entirely "outside of Christ," sanctioned its use of violence, Menno Simons called upon the rulers to let all their "thoughts, words and actions be conformed to the crucified Jesus" and to "follow his footsteps."[42] This, Menno Simons believed, would rule out capital punishment and all "tyranny and bloodshed" but he inferred that lesser forms of coercion might be used. Thus he seems to make room for the possibility of a Christian magistracy though he did not admit that the rulers of his time were such.[43]

The principle of the separation of church and state together with its corollary of freedom of conscience constitute what are probably Anabaptism's greatest contributions to posterity. The practical application of these principles, however, must be restudied in every new situation. It is at least questionable whether a definition of the separation of church and state worked out under an autocratic system of government can be made normative for a democratic system in which, theoretically, at least, the government is the people and thus inevitably includes every Christian citizen.

In early Anabaptism the emphasis upon separation from the world was balanced by a burning missionary zeal which took its members out into the world as witnessing martyrs for Christ. Their dynamic theology of missions saved them in the early years from the pitfall of a sterile withdrawal from the world which becomes a type of parasitism. The descendants of the Anabaptists, at times losing their missionary zeal, have not always been able to avoid this pitfall.

[41] *MQR*, XIX, 4:250f.

[42] Menno Simons, *op. cit.*, II:408.

[43] Erland Waltner, "An Analysis of the Mennonite Views of the Christian's Relation to the State in the Light of the New Testament," An unpublished thesis. (Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa., 1948), 96, 97.

Summary

How then shall we summarize the salient emphases of Anabaptist ecclesiology? From our study, the following points may be observed: The church is primarily a visible body of Christ upon earth consisting of living persons. It is a voluntary fellowship of believers instead of a *Volkskirche* or *Landeskirche*. Its entrance requirements are repentance, regeneration, and believers' baptism. It insists that every member must be a sincere disciple seeking to realize in his own life and in church relationships a true *Nachfolge Christi*. Its ordinances have a symbolic rather than a sacerdotal significance. Its lay members as well as its clergy share the responsibility of Christian witnessing. It is a brotherhood banded together by love and practices mutual aid. It is a disciplined body which consciously seeks to achieve and maintain "purity." It is a separated body which has withdrawn from the unchristian and sub-Christian practices of sinful society. It is therefore also a suffering body, a church "under the cross," sharing in the sufferings of Christ in a world that is not yet redeemed from its sin.

EDITORIAL (Continued from page 4)

The "Hutterite Mental Health Study" reported by Professor J. W. Eaton, its director, in the final article of this issue is probably the best-financed project in research ever undertaken in any field related to Anabaptist or Mennonite history, theology, or sociology, and probably the only one ever sponsored by the United States government. We share with its sponsors and its well-qualified director and staff the hope that it may produce results of genuine value in the understanding and prevention of mental illness on the broadest possible scale, and are happy to present a preliminary report of this study in this issue. The technical title of the project is "Psychiatric and Cultural Factors in the Mental Health of the Hutterites." It is one of the studies financed by th National Institute of Mental Health of the U.S. Public Health Service, and is directed by Professor Joseph W. Eaton of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Wayne University in Detroit. Robert J. Weil, M.D., Asst. Professor of Psychiatry at the Medical School of Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, is psychiatric consultant, while Dr. Bert Kaplan, Harvard University Psychological Clinic, is the psychological consultant. We shall all be greatly interested in the outcome of this study, for as the author points out, the Hutterites have an exceptional reputation for mental health, and the causes for this unusual state should be made known. A most valuable feature of the present article is the notable census of the Hutterite colonies, exhaustive and up-to-date, with historical dates and location, the first such ever published, and with maps.

Attention should be called to the remarkable discovery of an extensive early Anabaptist treatise on Nonresistance as reported by Samuel Geiser of Brügg, Switzerland, in the summary statement under "Bibliographical and Research Notes." Who was Clemens Adler, and why was his writing never known before? Or can someone give further information about the man and the document. As soon as research is completed on this remarkable find, the entire writing will be published, either in the Review or possibly in booklet form.

THE ANABAPTIST CONCEPTION OF THE CHURCH IN THE RUSSIAN MENNONITE ENVIRONMENT 1789-1870

ROBERT KREIDER

I

"All attempts to interpret the past," states Richard Niebuhr, "are indirect attempts to understand the present and its future."[1] A critical study of the church in the Russian Mennonite environment can be highly instructive to us in several ways. One may observe how the Anabaptist vision of the church—the brotherhood of the Cross—may decay internally from the dry rot of cultural egotism. One may witness in history how God repeatedly breathes new life into the dry bones of the church. Further, one confronts the persistent problem of the church in leading the second generation to an experience of communion with the Father and the Son, of forgiveness and rebirth, and consequent decision to enter the brotherhood. It is the problem of the perpetuation of the brotherhood.

The base line for this study is the Anabaptist conception of the church. To the Anabaptists the church was a brotherhood of the Cross based on the apostolic pattern and comprised of those who had experienced true conversion and had voluntarily committed themselves to a life of love and discipleship in the fellowship.[2] All Anabaptist theology and ethics has its nucleus in this conception of the church as the brotherhood of Christ. This is no static view of the church—a church which can be perpetuated by careful observance of tradition-honored laws of the institution. On the contrary it is a dynamic conception of the church which demands that each individual and every generation of believers confront the claims of the Cross. It is a dynamic conception in the sense that the church is the brotherhood of the Great Commission, a fellowship of evangelists.

Traditionally such a conception of the church has been classified as the sect-type. Ernst Troeltsch in his monumental work, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches,* formulated the classic distinction between the church-type and the sect-type of religious

[1] Richard Niebuhr, *The Kingdom of God in America* (Chicago: Willett, Clark, and Co., 1937), 1.

[2] Harold S. Bender, "The Anabaptist Vision," *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* Vol. XVIII, No. 2 (April, 1944), 82-84; Franklin H. Littell, "The Anabaptist View of the Church," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1946.

institution. He defined the church as being in essence an objective institution, coextensive with society, into which an individual is born, and by which, under the direction of duly constituted ecclesiastical officials, he is trained and disciplined for life in the religious community. The sect, on the other hand, was defined as a small, voluntary community, aiming at the inward perfection and fellowship of its own members, who have joined it by conscious choice.[3] The Troeltschian distinction between the sect and the church types is fundamentally suggestive for our study, but its usefulness is qualified. First, the two terms "church" and "sect," which are theoretical types, seldom characterize with precision actual religious bodies, which invariably are a blending of the two types. Second, the definition is a static, structural one and fails to account for the genesis and continuing dynamic of religious bodies. Third, this distinction is on a sociological level. The empirical church is sociology, but it is beyond sociology. He who would understand the church must come within and accept it as God's creation. The neglect of this spiritual and participationist dimension has left the studies of some sociologists of religion ultimately unconvincing.

Without discarding Troeltsch's definitions of sect and church, more descriptive terms for this study should be agreed upon. The term "sect" savors of condescension, a term with polemic overtones. For the purposes of this study I would suggest using the term "brotherhood" in place of "sect." Then, too, one is reluctant to see sociology usurp the term "church" when it has a normative, theological meaning as the "body of Christ." No alternative, however, seems to be a satisfactory term in English: *Volkskirche,* institutional church, territorial church, parish church, or ecclesiastical body.

A major thesis of this study is that the Mennonite Church in the Russian Mennonite environment moved in the direction and exhibited many of the characteristics of the *Volkskirche* or what the English call the "parish pattern of church." Some sociologists speak of a continuum of development and gradual differentiation from the sect-type on the extreme left to the fully developed institutional church-type on the extreme right.[4] Viewed sociologically one discerns such a trend—not as an immutable law, but as a general tendency. But viewed on the theological level, a radical discontinuity exists between the brotherhood and the institutional or parish type

[3] Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1931), I, 331-43.

[4] Troeltsch explicitly denied that a sect is an undeveloped expression of the church, and assumed that it is an independent sociological type which may or may not stand in process of transition away from sectarianism. *Ibid.,* II, 338.

of church, but between which there is always involvement and tension.

The contrast between the brotherhood and the church-type can best be comprehended by a comparison of the characteristics of the two patterns. In the church in the Russian Mennonite environment is to be discerned an interweaving of these distinctions. The following analysis is based on an attempted synthesis of the descriptions of such men as Troeltsch, Wach, Bainton, Pope, Meyer, Walton, and Richard Niebuhr.[5]

1. a. Brotherhood type: Membership based on a personal acceptance of Christ and conscious decision.
   b. Church type: Membership by birth into the religious-cultural community.
2. a. A voluntary fellowship of believers.
   b. The church striving to be coextensive with society.
3. a. An ethical community of brotherly love.
   b. An impersonal institution materialized in an objective order of law and characterized by anonymity in the membership.
4. a. Adherence to a radical ethic of love.
   b. Relaxation of moral demands; acceptance of general cultural standards as a practical definition of the moral obligation; vocationalization of radical ethics in religious classes.
5. a. Exclusion from the fellowship of those who lapse from the standards.
   b. A relaxed discipline because the church embraces all who are socially compatible within it.
6. a. A creative spiritual fellowship.
   b. An institution content with past achievement and fearful and defensive against possible losses.
7. a. Authority centered in the Scriptures and the example of the apostolic church.
   b. Authority vested in the ecclesiastical officialdom, together with the precedents of tradition and culture-clothed sacraments.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 331-43; Joachim Wach, *Church, Denomination and Sect* (Evanston, Illinois: Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, 1946); Roland H. Bainton, "The Sectarian Theory of the Church," *Christendom* (Summer, 1946), XI, 382-87; Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), 122-24; Carl Meyer, "Sect and Church, a Study in the Sociology of Religion," unpublished manuscript in the possession of Dr. James Luther Adams, Meadville Theological School, Chicago, Illinois; Robert C. Walton, *The Gathered Church* (London: Carey Press, 1946); Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, 166-80.

8. a. Wide dissemination of leadership responsibility, the leaders being servants of the brotherhood.
   b. Leadership centered in a comparatively small percentage of the membership which is the ecclesiastical officialdom.
9. a. Emphasis on lay participation of the entire brotherhood.
   b. Passivity of church membership, membership expressed only through church attendance and obedience to church tradition.
10. a. An aggressive, evangelistic, missionary church.
    b. Emphasis on religious education and indoctrination of its own members.
11. a. Development of freer and simpler forms of church life.
    b. Pursuance of routinized patterns of worship and church order.
12. a. A heightened eschatological sense—living under the Cross.
    b. A relaxation of eschatological interest and a preoccupation with the preservation of the church and its members in this world.
13. a. A remnant called out of the world to live in nonconformity to the secular order.
    b. The church an essential part of the world and acquiescent to all the powers that constitute the world.
14. a. Indifference to the prevailing socio-political order and renunciation of a desire to dominate it.
    b. Pursuance of routinized patterns of worship and order. and integrating itself into the existing social structures.
15. a. Nonparticipation in the political and military order.
    b. The church in congenial collaboration with the state and ruling classes to enforce the decisions of the church and to stabilize and determine the social order.
16. a. Especially associated with the humbler classes.
    b. Conservative and allied with the dominant classes.
17. a. The theology of a suffering church.
    b. The psychology of accommodation and success.

We shall return to these questions at the conclusion of this paper when we consider the rationale of the *Volkskirche* mind.

One of the deeply perplexing problems of the brotherhood-type of church—and this problem is written large in the Russian Mennonite environment—is how a brotherhood can perpetuate itself. Viewed universally the brotherhood originates in a decisive personal and corporate experience which comes as a miraculous gift of grace. In the second generation the children may not share the passionate

convictions of the fathers, especially if external pressures are relaxed and the group finds temporal peace and security. A process of institutionalization then becomes apparently inevitable as a means of conserving for subsequent generations the creative high experience of the fathers. Thus the great insights of the past are put into the symbolic forms of words and creeds, fashioned into customs, order, and discipline so that the second generation may become heirs to the spiritual experience of the fathers.[6]

II

Czarina Catherine II of Russia issued a manifesto on July 22, 1763, offering foreign settlers special inducements to colonize her domains. They were offered the opportunity of settling in closed colonies and assuming for themselves the responsibilities of civil administration. Further, they were guaranteed religious liberty. Under no circumstances, however, were the colonies permitted to make converts among the native Russian population.[7] These privileges were confirmed "for all times" for the Mennonites "and their children and descendants."[8] Here was opened a unique opportunity in the history of Mennonitism to apply Mennonite principles to the whole range of life's activities.

In Prussia, where the historic unity and solidarity of Mennonitism was being threatened, hundreds of families responded to the invitation and trekked eastward to found new homes and communities along the Molotschna and Chortitza rivers of South Russia. Migrations and other crises in the life of the Mennonites have been healthy for the brotherhood because they have compelled individuals and congregations to make decisions regarding the faith, a faith which has become routinized. The Mennonites brought to their new Russian environment a brotherhood-type of church, but not a brotherhood in the creative, evangelical sixteenth-century sense. It was a quietistic, non-missionary Mennonitism which sought to preserve an historic faith by formalistic, tradition-honored means. The Mennonites brought to Russia, also, a faith which had acquired certain cultural accretions, which in turn had been absolutized and sanctified. It was not unlike the type of Mennonitism which was transplanted from Europe to America in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

[6] *Ibid.*, 167-69.

[7] David G. Rempel, "The Mennonite Colonies in New Russia—A Study of Their Settlement and Economic Development from 1789 to 1914." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1933, 321. (Copy in Goshen College Library.)

[8] *Ibid.*, 113.

In this study we propose to treat briefly the general characteristics of (a) the religious community, (b) the Mennonite political venture, and (c) the land problem, all three of which are essential to an understanding of the major church crises—where conflicting conceptions of the church were revealed in sharp, perhaps even exaggerated relief. Undoubtedly, my whole analysis is that of the pathologist rather than the apologist. This is in part due to the fact that this study focuses attention on the period prior to 1870, a period of stress and strain in a new environment. It was a period when Mennonite leadership was ill-prepared for a great task.

There are several ways to judge an historical movement. One may evaluate it against absolute standards drawn from outside the context of the period. Thus in this paper we judge the Mennonite Church in Russia against the severe norms of sixteenth century Anabaptism. That, in a way, is not quite fair. If this were strictly an historical treatment, we would study sympathetically the Mennonites of Russia and their institutions in the light of their immediate heritage and times, judging them in terms of the cultural and spiritual equipment they actually brought with them from West Prussia—their literature, their traditions, their leadership. But for the grace of God, a people can rise no higher than their heritage and their leadership.

The Religious Community

Appraised from the perspective of the Anabaptist conception of the church, the Mennonites in Russia forfeited at the outset the possibility of being a brotherhood-type of church. They had to suppress the missionary imperative of the Gospel.[9] Actually, however, this had long been a dormant concern for the quietistic Mennonites in Prussia. Further, they accepted a system of privileges which were bound to qualifications, not of faith, but of blood. One had to be a descendant of the blood to enjoy these privileges. The surrounding Russian culture was of such an inferior socio-economic character, that it was distinctly disadvantageous for anyone to separate himself from the Mennonite colonies. Hence, the stage was set for a Mennonite spiritual and cultural monopoly.

[9] The provision in the Russian manifesto of July 22, 1763, which restricts missionary activity of the colonists among the Russian population, is as follows: "Jedoch wird hierbey jedermann gewarnt keinen in Ruhsland wohnhaften christlichen Glaubensgenossen, unter gar keinen Vorwande zur Annehmung oder Beypflichtung seines Glaubens und seiner Gemeinde zu bereden oder zu verleiten, falls er sich nicht der Furcht der Strafe nach aller strenge Unserer Gesetze auszusetzen gesonnen ist." *Ibid.*, 321.

The act of joining the church then was apt to involve dubious strains of motivation.

The early decades of the new settlements in Russia were marked by an appearance of sterility in the religious life. This is explainable in that all energies were demanded in the task of conquering the frontier land. More important, there was a dearth of able leadership in the early years. Among the first group of 228 families to settle at Chortitza there was not one preacher. They were of the poorer strata of Mennonites; the more well-to-do had been denied passports. The immigrants who came a decade or two later to the Molotschna brought with them possessions and capital and pastoral leadership. The arrival of such new groups as the Rudnerweide and Alexanderwohl congregations meant an infusion of new life. It was a remarkable fact that the Rudnerweide congregation, Frisian in background, united with a Flemish group to form a new united congregation—unique in Mennonite annals.[10] The Gnadenfeld congregation, which arrived in 1835, was the example *par excellence* of the pietistic vitality of the latter groups. Gnadenfeld comprised not alone "birthright" Mennonites but a predominant number of "convinced" brethren of Lutheran pietist background who had recently joined the Mennonites in Brandenburg. Gnadenfeld gave expression to its piety in mission and school concerns, in a temperance movement, and in nuclei of Bible and prayer groups—"Stunden."

The Mennonites brought to their new colonies the pattern of church organization long practiced in Prussia. Each local church enjoyed congregational independence. Cultural differences were recognized in the formation of separate Frisian and Flemish congregations, whereby the respective religious traditions could be continued without friction. There were three grades of spiritual office: the elder, who was authorized to administer all ecclesiastical functions, several preachers, and one or two deacons. They were unsalaried, lay leaders, chosen by lot, and generally drawn from the landed farmer class. The meetinghouses during the first fifty years were severely plain of design. Worship services were simple and followed time-honored procedures. Everybody joined the church, because everyone did. Church discipline was exercised, but in the passage of time this became increasingly lax. The ministers exerted decisive influence in the civil affairs of the colony, especially

[10] P. M. Friesen, *Die Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Bruderschaft in Russland (1789-1910) im Rahmen der mennonitischen Gesamtgeschichte* (Halbstadt: Raduga, 1911), 77.

in the supervision of the village schools. The necessity of frequent consultations of the church officers led to the establishment in 1851 of a new institution, the *Kirchenkonvent,* where all controversial questions concerning church affairs and order were decided.[11] This *Kirchenkonvent* was resented by many for its alleged possession of monarchial powers.

The Mennonite Political Venture

The Russian Imperial "Instruction" of May 16, 1801, granted the Mennonites self-government on the local and colony levels—a political responsibility for which they had had no parallel experience. Local administration consisted of a village assembly, composed of one representative from each homestead, the village office, and the Schulz (mayor). It was the duty of the latter, together with his two assistants, to form the court of original jurisdiction in civil cases and lesser offenses and to levy minor fines and labor sentences. As a representative of the moral order it was in his competence to eliminate all indulgence in luxury by the colonies, to prevent the squandering of property, and to enforce church attendance. The Schulz was to settle disputes and quarrels among colonists by persuasion, and if that failed, he could impose sentences to public labor or levy fines.[12] To satisfy the nonresistant conscience of the people the post of village constable was often turned over to a non-Mennonite. The most important agency of local government was the village assembly, which had wide powers of competence, including the right to dismiss citizens from the community for immoral conduct.[13] For the entire colony there was a district assembly, and an Ober-Schulz. Among his other responsibilities was his duty to maintain peace and order and exercise the police power in the district. With the consent of the Russian Advisory Commission, which for the Molotschna colony had its branch office in Odessa, the Ober-Schulz could even inflict corporal punishment. This high degree of local autonomy continued with little interference from the Russian government until the period of the imperial reforms in the sixties and the seventies.[14] There were several unfortunate consequences to this Mennonite involvement in the political order. Often the civil administration rendered decisions regarding explicitly church concerns and implemented these decisions by legal enforcement. Further, in many instances church and civil officials collaborated to use coercion to

[11] *Ibid.,* 304, 305; C. H. Wedel, *Abriss der Geschichte der Mennoniten* (Newton: Bethel College, 1901), III, 170, 171.

[12] Rempel, *op. cit.,* 114-16. [13] *Ibid.,* 117. [14] *Ibid.,* 117, 118.

advance what they rationalized to be the best interests of the church. There were sensitive souls, however, who were grieved by this alliance of the Christian brotherhood with the coercive operations of the civil arm.

The Land Problem

No problem in the Mennonite colonies created such misunderstanding and class hatred as the land problem. It must be reviewed here briefly because this conflict demonstrates how class and property interests soil the church as an "ethical community of brotherly love." This problem of equitable land distribution had found an earlier solution in the Chortitza colony, where there had never been such great contrasts between the wealthy landowners and the humbler people.[15] In the Molotschna the struggle was most bitter and protracted. By 1860 the Molotschna colony had a landless proletariat which comprised nearly two thirds of the district.[16] The unpropertied Mennonites wished to receive a fair apportionment of land from the undistributed reserve and surplus areas. Further, they sought a voice in the village and district assemblies, where representation was restricted to landowners. The district authorities disregarded the appeals of the landless. The landless classes organized and besieged the Russian Advisory Commission in Odessa and the local and district authorities with innumerable petitions, calling attention to their grievances and presenting constructive proposals for reform. But all to no avail. They appealed for support to the *Kirchenkonvent,* but the appeal went unanswered. The church leaders were for the most part well-to-do farmers, who shared economic interests similar to those of the landowners.[17] Wearied by the constant petitions of the landless, the Mennonite Ober-Schulz finally resorted to disciplinary action to crush the movement. This action rallied to the cause of the petitioners the support of a number of merchants and several preachers.[18] In a desperate effort to discredit the movement, a large group of landowners sought to smear the leaders of the landless as "revolutionaries dangerous to the peace and welfare of the settlement."[19] Finally, after years of unpleasant struggle, the land question was settled in 1866 by an Imperial Rescript, which laid the foundation for a model system

[15] D. H. Epp, *Die Chortitzer Mennoniten* (Odessa: A. Schultz, 1889), 147-49.
[16] Rempel, *op. cit.,* 184.
[17] *Ibid.,* 187.
[18] Franz Isaac, *Die Molotschnaer Mennoniten* (Halbstadt: J. J. Braun, 1908), 53.
[19] *Ibid.,* 63-65.

of Mennonite colonization. This solved the problem of the landless proletariat, although it did "not mean that there was no social differentiation or stratification [thereafter] among the Mennonites of Russia."[20] C. H. Wedel attributes this Mennonite conflict to the "selfishness and rudeness of the human heart" and to narrow intellectual horizons.[21] It was all of that. Selfish, uninspired leadership failed to serve the common needs of their brethren, thus rending the garment of the brotherhood.

III

Two religious crises among the Russian Mennonites highlight the fundamental tensions over the conception of the church: the rise of the *Kleine Gemeinde* in 1812 and the *Brüder Gemeinde* in 1860.

Kleine Gemeinde

The first major crisis in the Mennonite Church in the Russian environment centered on the dilemma whether the Mennonites, an autonomous group, could reconcile their disavowal of coercion and refusal to hold public office with the making and enforcement of laws necessary for the common welfare. Claas Reimer, a minister in the Molotschna, viewed with alarm the compromising involvement of Mennonites in the exercise of police power. With a few followers Reimer withdrew from the main body, the group coming to be known as the *Kleine Gemeinde*. The church leaders sought to crush this protest movement with political weapons. The Molotschna elder, Jacob Enns, asked the district office to silence Reimer. The Chortitz elder, Johann Wiebe, threatened him with banishment if he established a separate congregation. Despite the active efforts of the elders to thwart its recognition, the Russian government granted the *Kleine Gemeinde* official status as a Mennonite body in 1842.

Out of this minority brotherhood, the *Kleine Gemeinde,* comes a remarkable document, entitled "Faith and Reason," written in the spirit of sixteenth-century Anabaptism by an Orloff minister, Heinrich Balzer. It is an interesting treatise, both for its clear exposition of the brotherhood conception of the church and for its critical description of the contemporary Mennonite Church in Russia. The church had upheld the teachings of the Gospel under persecution and oppression, observed Balzer, but as the church now enjoyed peace and privileges, members became enmeshed in business and secular pursuits. It was a chain reaction of increasing involve-

[20] Cornelius Krahn, "Some Social Attitudes of the Mennonites of Russia," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (October, 1935), IX, 172.

[21] Wedel, *op. cit.,* III, 164.

ment in the secular order, as he said: "One necessity engendered another, and one need gave rise to the next."[22] Balzer witnessed among the Mennonites a new secularism, an infatuation by reason and the riches and things of this world. In a bill of particulars he listed the "passionate habits of the Mennonites" which gave them, he said, no moral superiority over their nomad neighbors, the Nogaians: "Pride, ostentation, vanity, greed for money and lust for wealth, avarice, drunkenness, luxury, vicious life, masquerades, obscene songs, gambling, and above all the miserable smoking of tobacco."[23]

Balzer urged the restoration of the church to its original simplicity. Christians are a spiritual people gathered together in a spiritual brotherhood. Members of the brotherhood who serve in secular affairs are simply liaison officers between the authorities and the elders. They have no authority to direct the church according to the powers of the state, nor to coerce the evildoer. He urged caution in associating with other denominations, for, though they be evangelical, they may cause one to lose distinctive principles such as nonresistance and brotherly love. Thus, he was both critical of formalism and secularism, and also of a pietism which minimizes discipleship. In this treatise is sixteenth-century Anabaptism, a plea for the conservation of the historic faith and practice. Balzer's work, however, lacks a major attribute of original Anabaptism: the out-giving, missionary imperative. Without that concern, the *Kleine Gemeinde,* despite its alert ethical sensitivity, was bound to remain a small, defensive, introversive brotherhood.

Brüder Gemeinde

In 1856 the Agricultural Union, which since the 1840's had administered the school system of the Molotschna colony, asked each teacher to comment on the moral condition of the people. The unanimous response was that the moral life of the people was in a degenerate state.[24] The brotherhood—where there was neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, bond nor free—had become an institution divided by class distinctions. The poor and the landless had been neglected. The church had often abandoned the love ethics of the brotherhood to use the coercive mechanisms of the political order. The radical ethical demands of the brother-

22 Robert Friedmann, "Faith and Reason: The Principles of Mennonitism Reconsidered in a Treatise of 1833," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (April, 1948) XXII, 89.

23 *Ibid.,* 90.

24 A. Braun, "Die kirchlichen Spaltungen in den russland-deutschen Mennoniten-Gemeinden," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mennoniten, Festschrift für D. Christian Neff* (Weierhof, Germany: Mennonitischen Geschichtsverein, 1938), 8, 9.

hood had been relaxed and immoral conduct tolerated among church members. For many the joining of church was no longer an event of high spiritual decision, but an incident in the customary sequence of life. Mennonitism had congealed into a form, outwardly correct, but inwardly less than vital.

New winds of the spirit, however, were blowing amidst this static cultural Mennonitism. The fact that the Agricultural Union in 1856 should be concerned about the moral health of the people was one sign of an awakening. That thirty-seven teachers were of one mind that there must be moral reform indicates that the leadership had at least an aching conscience. One influence in the reawakening was of lay origin: Johann Cornies and the Agricultural Union. Farming methods were improved, the educational system thoroughly reorganized according to progressive standards, an interest cultivated in helping the non-Mennonite neighbor—particularly the Nogaians, a nomadic Tartar tribe of the vicinity.[25] New spiritual life came from without. In 1835 there arrived in the Molotschna a new congregation, the Gnadenfelder, a group composed principally of Lutherans recently united with the Mennonites. They had been inspired by the Moravians, and so brought to the colonies a new piety and progressive spirit. This was evidenced in their schools, Bible study groups, prayer meetings, mission festivals, temperance movement. Another vital force was the impact of the neighboring Württemberg Pietists, and especially one of their inspired leaders, Pastor Eduard Wüst, who served in the area of the colonies from 1845 to his death in 1859. Through him a "great awakening" was experienced. Prayer meetings of laity met spontaneously in the various villages. Also, the German Baptists, led by Johann Gerhard Oncken, exercised a strong influence in Mennonite circles in the Chortitza in the 1850's and 1860's.

A movement which had begun as an upper room movement, an *ecclesiola in ecclesia,* gave birth to a new church. In the village of Gnadenfeld, one of the centers of the movement, a group of eighteen laymen handed to their elder on January 6, 1860, a statement declaring their withdrawal from the church and their purpose of seeking a true brotherhood. This was something of a confession of faith. They affirmed their determination to adhere to Mennonite principles and teachings. Baptism must be based on a sincere confession of faith, not simply the recital of a memorized formula. No word was spoken in the statement concerning baptism by immer-

[25] Rempel, *op. cit.*, 172-75.

sion. The Lord's Supper is a symbol of union with the Saviour, and also a covenant of fellowship of the faithful. The unfaithful should be excluded from the Lord's Table. Scriptural discipline should be practiced in the church, separating the unfaithful from the fellowship. Foot washing should be observed. Ministers may be chosen either by the direct calling of God as were the prophets or by the brotherhood.[26] That same year the group organized themselves into a congregation under the name of *Mennoniten Brüdergemeinde.*

The authorities of the old church sought to crush this new group. Church discipline failed. The elders complained to the district political authorities, who were also Mennonites. These officials threatened the seceders with arrest and attempted to apply the law against secret societies. There is a startling parallelism between these attacks on the new group and the condescending attacks of the Reformers on the Anabaptists. Five Mennonite elders submitted a statement to the provincial government condemning the new group as sectarians, *schwärmer,* destroyers of unity, disorganizers of the social order, Biblicists who select only certain passages, and the *coup de grace*—perfectionists.[27] Further, it is a sad commentary on the brotherhood that the elders did not follow the outline of Matthew 18 in dealing with the erring brethren. Not all Mennonite leaders, however, abandoned their New Testament ethic in this fit of passion. Johann Harder, the elder of the Orloff congregation, personally interviewed the leaders of the new movement. Although he disagreed with them, he insisted that since they withdrew from the old church, the church had no authority in the case and it was outside the jurisdiction of the state.[28] The *Kleine Gemeinde* joined in this attitude. There was wide sympathy for the new movement among the laity. The attempt at suppressing the new movement, of course, failed. In May, 1862, the Russian government formally recognized the *Brüdergemeinde* as an official Mennonite body and assured it of political and religious privileges.[29] In 1872, when they organized a general conference, the *Brüder Gemeinde* numbered 600 adult members and by 1885 they had expanded to 1800.[30]

This new movement was propelled by pietistic forces which expressed themselves in many of the characteristics of primitive Anabaptism. The adherents came principally from the humbler classes of society. It began as a lay movement. Scriptural discipline

[26] Isaac, *op. cit.,* 174-76.
[27] *Ibid.,* 179, 180.
[28] *Ibid.,* 182-84.
[29] Friesen, *op. cit.,* 203.
[30] A. Braun, *"Mennoniten-Brüdergemeinde," Mennonitisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt am Main und Weierhof, Pfalz: 1913-42), III, 104.

was introduced, which ordered the whole of life. Church life found freer and more spontaneous forms. The new movement demonstrated a return to a radical ethic of love and nonresistance. In the very beginning of the movement some of the brethren would not even seek for the return of stolen goods nor ask for the aid of the police.[31] It was a brotherhood based not upon birth, but rebirth. "Candidates were received into the church by vote of the congregation after an open session in which any member had the right to question the candidate about his experience and beliefs."[32] This emphasis on a highly personal experience of grace and assurance led to a new active type of Christianity, which demonstrated itself in great evangelical zeal, including proselyting among the Mennonites, support of foreign missions, and evangelism among the population. Since the latter activity was expressly forbidden by the Russian government, some were exiled to Siberia for the violation of this prohibition.[33]

Since the *Brüder Gemeinde* was pietistic, it manifested some deviations from original Anabaptism. The movement in its beginnings was accompanied by some spontaneous outbursts of emotional behavior, which so often are the companion of periods of high spiritual experience. This emotionalism, together with what some felt to be their "religious pugnaciousness," was resented by the old church. Through fellowship with the German Baptists they decided to adopt immersion as the Scriptural method of baptism. The first congregation to make immersion the obligatory mode of baptism was at Einlage in the Chortitza.[34] Because of the elevated importance accorded this baptismal method, some observers detect here a new sacramentalism. Baptismal instruction for youth was abandoned. The Mennonite Brethren did not maintain the strict separation from the non-Mennonite world as their forefathers had done. They sought fellowship with similar religious groups in Russia and abroad. Robert Friedmann has placed his finger on one of the basic problems of Mennonitism in Russia implicit in this crisis, namely, the question of the true church:

> What should a church require from its members to become the "right" church? "A plain inner decision to accept Christ," was the answer given by the "Old" Mennonites. "A cataclysmic conversion first," was the answer given by the *Brüdergemeinde,* particularly in the beginning. Against this the first group replied that with such a requirement the church becomes

[31] Krahn, *op. cit.,* 173.
[32] *Ibid.,* 172.
[33] *Ibid.,* 174.
[34] Braun, "Die kirchlichen Spaltungen . . . ," *op. cit.,* 10.

less a brotherhood than an aggregation of individually saved souls, which is something contrary to all Anabaptist heritage.[35]

In reply to the *Kirchlichen* (ecclesiastics), as the Brethren disparagingly called them, one might say that the old church was less a brotherhood than a religio-cultural institution. Peter Braun, in a concise analysis of this church crisis,[36] points out that in the second and third generations a change came over the *Brüdergemeinde*, that in theory the Brethren held fast to a believers-church concept, but in practice became more and more a *Familiengemeinschaft*—a family-centered church. Practice had ceased to conform to theory.

"Catholicism," it has been suggested "is never so exemplary as when and where it is confronted with a vigorous Protestant competition." This struggle with basic spiritual issues gave new vitality to a dormant church. Actually the brotherhood spirit had never completely died. Further, one must remember that there had been the spiritual quickening of the "great awakening" in the old church prior to the split. One of the great spirits in this trend among the majority group was Bernhard Harder (1832-1884), a much-loved evangelistic preacher. The first foreign missionary of the old church was Heinrich Dirks who began his work in Sumatra in 1871. After a period of mutual and self-righteous hostility between the old and the new churches, areas of common interest and action were found.

One can only mention briefly the developments after 1860. The 1870's witnessed the mass emigration movement to America with all its accompanying individual and group decisions. The Mennonite population continued its phenomenal increase, doubling itself with each generation. Consequently the Mennonites had a tremendous task of absorption and nurture of the continuing stream of oncoming generations. The preoccupations of the Mennonites, thus, were internal. The Mennonite colonies from the 1880's until World War I enjoyed great prosperity. This had its perils for the Mennonite brotherhood. A Mennonite capitalist class developed, with 3 per cent owning 30 per cent of the land and employing 22 per cent of the Mennonite population.[37] In the great, creative period from 1880 to 1914 came a flowering of Mennonite community enterprises —rapid expansion of the educational system, establishment of a variety of charitable institutions, inauguration of mutual aid and co-operative societies, pioneering in agricultural developments, launching of missionary activity abroad. The Mennonite colonies

[35] Robert Friedmann, *Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries* (Goshen, Indiana: Mennonite Historical Society, 1949), 70.

[36] Braun, "Die kirchlichen Spaltungen . . . ," *op. cit.*, 15.

[37] Krahn, *op. cit.*, 170.

became widely known for their prosperity, tranquillity, and well-ordered community life.

With the coming of the first and moderate stages of the Russian Revolution, freedom of religion was universalized, permitting the free preaching of the Gospel by any group. As a result the Mennonites looked toward an expansion of their missionary work among the Russian people, which, however, was not designed to win adherents to the Mennonite Church.[38] This was soon made impossible as the Soviet oppression settled over the land. Then a new, tragic chapter opened. The Mennonites became the church of the catacomb and the church of the diaspora.

IV

Every institution or movement, like every person, needs to be understood sympathetically before it can be criticized. No institution can be understood until its presuppositions, the fundamental faith upon which it rests, have been provisionally adopted. In this spirit we must approach an understanding of the concept of the *Volkskirche*, which is so fundamental to an appreciation of the phenomena of cultural Mennonitism in Russia. A sincere apologist for the *Volkskirche,* Dr. Schoell, has articulated the underlying concerns of this cultural-church concept as follows:[39] Through the generations the church has become rooted in a given historical community. Man does not have the right to rend the church from its cultural context. Feeling itself to be identified with the common cultural life of the people, the *Volkskirche* deems it a right and duty to communicate the Gospel in word, ritual, and order in the distinctive cultural forms and manners of the community. The genius of the *Volkskirche* is seen to be its universal character, feeling responsible for and serving the entire people—saints and sinners. The *Volkskirche* is inclusive of all classes and persons. The *Volkskirche* recognizes that the church will continue to shelter sinners, explaining that it is better to carry even avowed sinners in the church in the hope that some can be brought eventually to full Christian status. Admittedly one is born into the church. This is self-understood because man belongs to the church and he belongs to a particular church, the church of his people and heritage wherein he has been placed by God's loving dispensation. The *Volkskirche,* explains our apologist, recognizes how the individual is vitally influenced by his environment. This leads the church to seek to create

[38] *Ibid.,* 174.

[39] Dr. Schoell, "Volkskirche," *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1927-31), V, 1659-63.

through its educational program community moral standards, a common moral consciousness, and a world view for the entire community. The church's active participation in the political sphere is founded on the conviction that the church as a shepherd has a responsibility to order the common life of its people. This non-Biblical interpretation is in some respects not unlike the interpretation given to cultural Mennonitism in the Russian environment, characterizing both the old church and the *Brüdergemeinde.*

This apology for the *Volkskirche* concept centers on the view of the church as the good shepherd of the whole community. There are, however, other less altruistic factors. One may observe that human institutions seek both to preserve and to extend themselves. It is a kind of historical expediency. Acceptance of the inactive member is easier than the task of creating a dynamic brotherhood.

Throughout its history in the Russian Mennonite environment there has been tension between the concept of the church of the brotherhood and the church of the people. The brotherhood and the *Volkskirche.* It has not been a clean-cut struggle, but rather a complex one. This tension has been operative in all Mennonite bodies in Russia. We might add parenthetically that this inner tension is not isolated among the Russian Mennonites; it is a struggle in the heart of Mennonitism the world around. For us who live in a pluralistic American society it is difficult to comprehend vicariously the state of mind in a more unitary society. As we understand the Mennonite culture as it was in Russia and as it is now in Paraguay, we gain an insight into the mind of the parish or territorial church, the *Volkskirche,* and we may understand better the genesis and persistent hold of state church systems. In reverse as one understands the *Volkskirche,* one understands better the elemental forces at play upon the brotherhood in the Russian environment.

Some Mennonite scholars, who have been nurtured in the Russian Mennonite environment, have sensed very keenly the tension between the brotherhood-ideal and the *Volkskirche*-reality in the Mennonite experience. They would propose that the *Volkskirche* attributes of Mennonitism be unapologetically recognized, and in devotion to the absolutes of the Anabaptist vision create within the larger church a *Kerngemeinde,* an inner fellowship, an *ecclesiola in ecclesia.* It is something of which the early Luther wrote in his *German Mass.* One may address to this position many searching questions. The Anabaptist has principally one: Is there anything in Biblical norms to justify the concept of the *Volkskirche* or the *Kerngemeinde?*

THE ANABAPTIST CONCEPTION OF THE CHURCH IN THE AMERICAN MENNONITE ENVIRONMENT

S. F. Pannabecker

It would probably not be difficult to agree on the essentials of the Anabaptist conception of the church. It was, first of all, a church of *regenerate members*—"the community of God," "assembly of pious," "who have believed in the promised seed of the woman and who accept His Word in sincerity of heart."[1] It was a church that accepted *discipleship*. "All those who hear Him, believe His Word and follow Him are called Christians or the Church of Jesus Christ."[2] As Christ was the Saviour so Christ is the Lord, holding before His disciples the twin ideals of love and suffering. It was a church based on *Biblical standards*. The Bible was the authority and, literally interpreted, provided the patterns for organization and procedure. The church was a *fellowship* with love for the brethren based on love for Christ and with mutual concern each for the other. The church was a *witnessing church*. The priesthood of believers was matched by the apostleship of believers. The missionary responsibility was church-wide. It was all the church who, "in pure and faithful love, seek the salvation of their neighbors; who preach the Word in the power of the Spirit; who are shining lights."[3] The preachers therefore were different in function only and in no sense different in order from the rest of the brotherhood.

Consistent with this idea of the church was entrance by *voluntary covenant* and subjection to *church discipline*. Nor need discipline be crude, cruel, or punitive, but rather sympathetic and remedial, springing primarily from mutual concern. Present also, and one might say invariably, was a keen sense of *separation*—separation from what Menno Simons calls "church of the antichrist" and separation from the world.

Such was a summary of the Anabaptist conception of the church of Jesus Christ—a *free* church unbound by the state or the world, a *small* church kept small by voluntary membership and the sense of separation, a *pure* church based on regenerate members and kept pure by discipline, and an *active* church with lay responsibility and lay ministry.

[1] Menno Simons, *The Complete Works*, Elkhart, Indiana, 1871, Part II, 77.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 78.

The American Church and the Anabaptist Conception

It is only as we of the present day put ourselves back in the sixteenth century that the enormity of this innovation in the conception of the church becomes apparent. Especially is this true for America, where the separation of church and state is an accepted policy and where religious liberty is available for all. In many ways the accepted American view of the church approximates the Anabaptist conception. Certainly this is true as compared with the continental views of the church as held either by the Catholics or Reformers of the sixteenth century. Three reasons may be suggested for the degree of similarity that there is between the common American view of the church and the Anabaptist conception. First is the fact that New England religion and to a certain degree all colonial religion was determined by left-wing, radical sects. Many of these in fact had direct or indirect contact with Anabaptist groups. Certainly this was true of the separatist Pilgrims and to a lesser degree of the Puritans. Also it was true to a degree of the Baptists. But regardless of Anabaptist contacts, the Congregationalists, the Baptists, and the Quakers held radical ideas regarding the church which showed similarity at many points to the Anabaptist conception. A typical congregational membership covenant from early colonial days such as the following could almost pass for an Anabaptist statement:

> We covenant with the Lord and one with another and doe bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walke together in all his waies according as he is pleased to reveal himself unto us in his Blessed Word of truth.[4]

The Cambridge Platform of 1648 clearly recognized the church as a body of regenerate believers—saints "who walk in blameless obedience to the Word."[5] It also recognizes voluntary church covenants and church discipline to keep the church pure.

A second factor that favored a view somewhat similar to the Anabaptist view is the influence of the frontier in promoting individualism and a democratic approach to life. Hierarchy and monarchy were alike obnoxious to frontiersmen while personal and individual responsibility became ingrained in their character.

The third factor which again emphasized and approached the Anabaptist position was the great awakening of the eighteenth century and again the second awakening in the early nineteenth century.

[4] Williston Walker, *History of the Congregational Churches in the United States*, N.Y., 1894, 104.

[5] Williston Walker, *Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, N.Y., 1893, 205.

Both of these had an intense emphasis upon individual response, rebirth, and voluntary entrance into the kingdom. To be sure there was the emotional pietist influence which tended to turn inward and be satisfied with "spiritual" experiences not adequately based in life. But on the other hand it is obvious that in both of these awakening movements, new vitality was given to Christian efforts; moral conditions were definitely improved. The church, as Sweet writes, became a moral court on the frontier.[6] At least in two matters the Anabaptist ideal of the church came to be realized, namely, that of voluntary membership in church and that of the separation of church and state, both of which are recognized in the laws of the land.

The question before us is "The Anabaptist Conception of the Church in the American Mennonite Environment." This might be restated as "The Mennonite Conception of the Church in the American Environment." Either statement may be somewhat misleading, however, for it suggests that changes in the conception of the church might be entirely the matter of American environment. This is not necessarily true, for the conception of the church is bound to be influenced somewhat by developments within the church itself. Especially is this so in a church which starts from a separatist position. The separatist church starts from scratch and it can do so because it rejects the old and sets new forms, calling out believers in a definitely clear-cut voluntary decision to join a community of saints. The children of the saints are not in the same position as the saints, their fathers. Much as they may desire to enter the fellowship by voluntary choice, they are not as free as their parents to start from nothing. Forms have been laid down; methods of expression have become current; the differences between being on the inside and on the outside are not as clear-cut. Consequently, training and tradition inevitably assumes a larger portion in the picture. Thus successive generations build up a body of patterns from which it is not easy to vary. The initial creative spark is no longer possible to the degree originally required. Thus we see the sociological phenomenon of the sect passing into the church. If, in this process, the sense of voluntary acceptance is somewhat dimmed, it may still be that other characteristics of the original position remain relatively unchanged. The particular point, however, to be observed here is that not all changes in the church can be laid to the environment. With this understanding we are ready to turn to the Mennonites in the American environment.

[6] William Warren Sweet, "The Churches at Moral Courts on the Frontier," in *Church History*, II (1933), 3-21.

Periods of Development

The development of the Mennonite Church in America as regards customs and thinking can be conveniently divided into four periods. While the actual dates designated for these might vary somewhat, the main features could be agreed upon. The first period is one of immigration—initial settlement—and the forming of patterns. The period agrees roughly with the colonial period in American history and might be given a terminal date of about 1770. The characteristic features which mark the end are the close of European immigration, the severing of contacts with the old world, and the passing away of the first generation of immigrants who remembered the European background and who were in general better educated than the succeeding generations.

The second period which lasted toward the middle of the nineteenth century is marked by a continued lack of contacts with Mennonite centers elsewhere in the world and the church consequently being thrown back on its own resources. It was a time when congealed patterns of the past had a special degree of authority. There was little original thinking if judged by the literature appearing during the time.

The third period introduced new activities and new ideas. It is marked by the resumption of immigration from Europe and contacts with European Mennonites, by an increased pressure of the evangelical movement in America upon Mennonite churches, by an increased social pressure through the introduction of the public school system, and by a general increase of democratic thinking and processes in the country. The pressure has accumulated and grown increasingly tense in the years of this century so that few congregations and few bodies have been able to remain without some adjustment to the new condition. Some groups delayed adjustment as long as possible and reduced it to a minimum. Others accepted innovations and even welcomed them. The rate of adjustment, therefore, varied greatly. Perhaps we could figure that by the time of the first World War, various types of answers to these questions had been set forth and the positions of the different Mennonite groups roughly determined.

It was suggested that there was still a fourth period. This is not quite so easy to see or to define since we are still in proximity to it. Its tendency seems to be the dropping of emphasis upon differences of opinion and those points that have brought divisions in the past, and the emphasis upon the need of co-operation. The funda-

mental similarity in viewpoint and heritage and the conscious intelligent appreciation of a feeling that there is an area at which Mennonite convictions stand out in strong contrast to the policies and convictions of the world and also the interpretation on some of our non-Mennonite Christian brethren. What will happen as time goes on one cannot venture to say, but it would certainly be wished that fellowship and understanding, co-operation and closer association might develop as the Spirit leads. This fourth period might be called a period of rapprochement.

Having outlined rather briefly the four periods of Mennonite development in America, it may be in order to think about the conception of the church under these varying conditions.

The Mennonite Church in the Colonial Period

The colonial period was one of beginnings. In some ways the conditions of the early church were reproduced in as far as working out new programs in a new land was concerned. There was much of the same lack of pattern and tradition as characterized the early separatist congregations. Fortunately, too, there were leaders of ability and devotion. Here one needs but mention Jacob Gottschalk, Henry Funk, or Christopher Dock.

In the experience of these leaders and the churches they represented, two ideas stand out clearly in their relation to the American environment. One is the deep sense of appreciation for the freedom of religion which was granted them—for the fact that they were permitted to live "under the praiseworthy crown of Great Britain . . . in liberty of conscience without hindrance."[7] This fact was the occasion for a deep sense of gratitude and they heartily endeavored to use rightly the new-found liberty. The second characteristic in this period was the deep sense of separation from the outside world. The separation was based not only on religious reasons but also on social conditions which were due to the force of certain practical matters and historical events. First, there was the matter of language. English being the prevalent language and the language of government, those who were limited to the use of German were not understood or, worse, were misunderstood. Thus a wall was set up between the English-speaking and German-speaking populace. This applied, of course, to all German-speaking people. But for the Mennonites there was the added stigma of being on the unpopular side of three important questions in colonial days. They opposed the intro-

[7] Quoted from 1745 Letter of Jacob Gottschalk and others to the Amsterdam congregation, in *Mennonite Yearbook and Almanac,* 1910, 25.

duction of the "Charity Schools" designed by the English for the Anglicizing of the German population. The Mennonites were as obstinate as any, if not more so, in refusing to accept this proffered education. They were also favorable to the Penn government of Pennsylvania with its nonresistance and liberal philosophy of government. When therefore the Quaker government was discarded by the more aggressive Scotch-Irish, the Mennonites again were on the unpopular side. Finally, when the Revolutionary War came along and the Mennonites took seriously their oath of allegiance to the king and further questioned the ability of the new upstart forces to provide the type of religious liberty which they had been granted under the king's government, they were frankly skeptical and hesitated to give support.

With the language difference then, with the unpopularity over important questions, with also the geographical separation in settlement, the Mennonite sense of distinction from the world was particularly acute. To this should be added, and by no means least important, a real difference of ideals. The Mennonites were fundamentally religious and they were concerned with a way of life which was tied up with religion, agriculture, and moral home training. They saw their way of life threatened by various moves about them, and hence saw more clearly the fact of distinction from environment and the desire for separate existence.

It was small wonder then that the separated church was a clear ideal in the minds of colonial Mennonites. The letter quoted above expressing appreciation for liberty of conscience also expresses concern over that same freedom and insists on the desire to remain faithful in case of test. The following quotation brings this out very clearly:

> Our further concern is, Dearly Beloved, inasmuch as we cannot know what the future has in store, and since the flames of war are evidently rising higher, that to the nonresistant Christians tribulation and persecution may come to their house, and for this reason it will be needful to fortify against such visitation in patience and obedience, and to prepare for firmness and perseverance in faith. It has been the consensus of opinion of this congregation that it were well if we could have the Bloody Martyrs' Mirror by Dielman Jans von Bracht translated into the German language, and especially, since in this country in our congregations many young people have grown up and our number much increased, so that coming generations may have the testimony of true witness to the truth, who have walked in the way of truth, and given their life for it. Much as this has been desired for several years, the wish is yet not fulfilled.[8]

[8] *Mennonite Yearbook and Almanac*, 1910, 26.

This was the sentiment back of the publishing of the *Martyrs' Mirror* which appeared in 1748. It shows a conscious recognition of the separated church, the righteous church, and the idea of possible suffering for faith.

Another publication giving indication regarding the ideals concerning the church is Henry Funk's *Spiegel der Taufe* or, in English title, *Mirror of Baptism, with the Spirit, with Water, and with Blood.* As the title suggests it was divided into three parts, considering respectively baptism with the Spirit, baptism with water, and baptism with blood or suffering. To the baptism with the Holy Spirit, Funk gives the first and primary importance. It was realized when the Holy Spirit descended on Jesus at His baptism. It was also realized to a certain extent in the case of the patriarchs and the prophets. It is also to be realized in every believer. For this baptism with the Spirit, a preparation is necessary whereby the Spirit convicts and melts the heart, induces repentance and brings about regeneration. This completed, the newborn person is ready for water baptism. Here is clear recognition of the place of regeneration in the preparation for church membership. Water baptism is symbolic of purification following certain types in the Old Testament where water or ashes were sprinkled for purification. However, the most significant part of Funk's interpretation of baptism is found in the baptism with suffering. This he says "is by many done away and rejected—however, the greater number of people know little about it."[9] Jesus referred to His baptism of passion as a cup to be drunk or a baptism to be baptized with. These sufferings were a baptism. Funk then continues,

> And in this manner also is the affliction and suffering of the disciples and followers of Christ, which they endured for His sake, in bearing His Cross after Him, called a baptism. This is the pouring out of the blood of Jesus and His disciples, the perfect baptism of which He states. And without suffering affliction and bearing the cross, this baptism cannot be accomplished.[10]

The point is repeatedly stressed that all believers similarly must drink the bitter cup of affliction and be baptized with the baptism of suffering which he points out "is chiefly inflicted on the believers, by the unbelievers and the ungodly."[11] Significant here is the clear-cut distinction between believer and unbeliever and the stress on in-

[9] Henry Funk, *A Mirror of Baptism, with the Spirit, with Water, and with Blood,* 1851, 13.

[10] Henry Funk, *op. cit.,* 84.

[11] Henry Funk, *op. cit.,* 108.

evitable suffering for the true believer. These recall Anabaptist teaching of the sixteenth century.

If these two books, the *Martyrs' Mirror*, *The Mirror of Baptism,* and also the *Ausbund,* all of which appeared in the 40's of the eighteenth century, represent accepted expression of the Anabaptist conception of the church in this period, then the characteristic Anabaptist features of regenerate membership, discipleship, the responsibility for witnessing, separation from the world, and a called-out church seem clear indeed. How far ideals were approximated in practice may still be a question. The concern expressed above for young people who might be led astray suggests that there was need of teaching and there were criticisms that some were too rich and too much concerned about worldly property.[12]

The Mennonite Church in the Second Period

For the second period there is less record and little original publication. A letter of 1773 written in response to questions from the Dutch throws light on a few matters at the opening of the period.[13] It is clear from this, for instance, that ministers are chosen from among the members and gave their talents willing to serve the community without receiving compensation. It is evident also that marriage outside the community was not permitted and that discipline was practiced in cases of infraction of the rule. The person involved was notified "to withdraw from the fellowship, the brotherly council, the kiss of peace, and the Lord's Supper." Ministers of the church in this period were chosen for their piety and were not expected to be trained. Further, they were chosen in middle age. The average of those officials serving between 1800 and 1850 on ordination to office was, for deacons 37 years, for preachers 40 years, and for bishops 49 years. With the severance of relations with Europe, the lower standards of training among leaders, the sense of separation from American society, and the suspicion of American customs by church officials chosen in middle life, it is evident why this period became one of the adherence to a pattern from the past. Faithfulness and devotion were ingrained, the sense of discipline was present, and the separated and perhaps suffering church was understood.

There was another side to the matter. An account which comes from that time describes the situation in these words,

[12] "A Letter from Pennsylvania Mennonites to Holland in 1773," in *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* III (1929), 229.
[13] *Ibid.*

But I do not wish to deny that in some American Mennonite congregations too much emphasis is placed on outward form and that at times, therefore, some points seem to be exaggerated. But this is admitted by most of the preachers here themselves, and I would not want to say that there is no good intention at heart. Rather it is the case with a great many that they possess only to a small degree the gift of differentiating between the greater and the less, wherefore non-essentials are made to be essentials and consequently too much strictness is laid upon these matters, forgetting that Paul laid the first emphasis on a "new creature in Christ."[14]

These were the words of Jacob Krehbiel, a recent Palatinate Mennonite immigrant writing in 1841. One does not want to be critical. There were plenty who accused the church at the time of deadness, but John F. Funk in the *Mennonite Church and Her Accusers* presents much evidence for sincerity of purpose and understanding of Christian fundamentals such as regeneration, faith in Christ, and the life of obedience. Still there was something lacking—a creative spirit or an ability to recognize moral and religious values in new situations, and, as Jacob Krehbiel suggests, the emphasis on the new creature in Christ was perhaps not as clear as it might have been. Blood relationships, the family ideal of religion, the separation of the world on a social rather than a religious basis seems to have crowded some of the essentials of the personal, individual, voluntary covenant which was such a vital thing in the creative days.

The Mennonite Church in the Third Period

The new conditions of the third period have been suggested already. They covered the political, the social, and the religious fields. No aspect of life was unaffected by the movements which were taking place in the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is impossible and unnecessary to go into them in detail but their importance must be realized. The American conception of public schools came into being at this time. In Pennsylvania it found expression in the school law of 1834. Intense opposition came from the districts which were predominantly German, and Mennonite resistance was particularly stubborn, but by 1851 the public schools were accepted in Franconia Township. Thereafter, Mennonite youth were trained in the social and political ideals of the developing America on the same basis as other children. Jacksonian democracy arose and parallel with it the extension of suffrage to all men. Particularly in the religious sphere were there conditions almost revolutionary. The great awakening of the first and second decade of the nineteenth

[14] "A Few Words about the Mennonites in America in 1841," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, VI (1932), 51.

century followed the deadness, the low moral conditions, and the atheism of the post-Revolution period. The widespread deadness in most denominations was broken by a resurgence of faith and evangelical fervor. The Methodist influence was mediated to the Germans through such men as Martin Boehm and John Albright. Albright and the Evangelicals were particularly close to the Mennonites in the Franconia area and formed their first class in the Quakertown vicinity. Albright spoke plainly:

> You Dunkards and Mennonites, with your peculiar dress and outward plainness, by which you comfort yourselves, will be lost without the new birth. . . . Be not astonished that I say unto you, "Ye must be born again," for these are the words of our Saviour and Judge.[15]

It is reported that "the listeners were strongly affected" and some Mennonites were drawn into the movement.

To this combined political, social, religious impact there were two clear responses. Some, first as individuals and later as groups, responded to the appeal of environment. The early individuals simply left the church or were put out but when later a larger number agreed it resulted in division in the church. The middle of the nineteenth century was therefore fruitful in schisms. Just as some responded favorably to environment others reacted against it. Especially was this so when church divisions occurred and people were forced to exaggerate contrary positions.

Mennonite bodies thus came into existence with Pietistic or revivalistic approach using all of the methods of the Methodists—the mourner's bench, testimony meetings, and emotional expressions. Others adopted a freer attitude toward other denominations and permitted much wider contacts with outside society than had been previously allowed. The differences may easily be overdrawn but in any case there was on the part of those who reacted toward environment a lessening of the sense of separation. If the Oberholtzer group be taken as an example one finds an active minded group consciously attempting to remain true to Mennonite fundamentals but allowing a freer attitude toward use of government processes, permission for intermarriage with other non-Mennonite Christian groups, membership transfer without rebaptism. Open-mindedness on these things indicates a weakening of the idea of separation from the world or at least the need of a reinterpretation of it.

Problems of adjustment continued all through the century and into the twentieth century. Most Mennonites came to accept in one

[15] R. S. Wilson, *Jacob Albright, The Evangelical Pioneer,* 1940, 56.

form or another such matters as modern education, entrance into wider fields of business, association with other denominations in moral reforms like temperance, the use of Sunday schools, young people's meetings, and the adoption of the foreign mission program.

With such a complex pattern of responses to environment it is impossible to draw generalizations covering the conception of the church as a whole. For those who went farthest in approximation to environment there was a blurring of distinction between the church and the world. A few accepted social progress and modern pacificism as the realization of Mennonite ideals of the kingdom of God and nonresistance. Because of wavering as to clear-cut standards of action, discipline was often neglected. The introduction of a paid, trained ministry involving the use of younger men and men from outside the congregation further complicated the problems of discipline. Thus in a number of ways it became difficult to hold, in practice, some of the characteristic aspects of the Anabaptist conception of the church. This included specifically discipline, the distinct sense of separateness, the keen responsibility for discipleship particularly relating to cross-bearing, and lay responsibility for the church.

The primary problem of the third period was how to adjust the life of the church which previously had been thoroughly separated from the world to the new conditions whereby a type of physical separation which had been common was practically impossible. The problem arose out of the new relation of separation to social acceptance which followed in turn from religious freedom. Separation, in the old days, was like a stool standing on three legs. The first leg which supported it was social discrimination. European restrictions had prevented Mennonites entering many aspects of business and education and this enforced social distinction. Language differences in the New World and closed rural settlements contributed to the same result. The second leg was that of political limitations which in the Old World limited citizenship and civil rights. A similar result followed in America in as far as the Mennonites were regarded as subversive and themselves remained unsympathetic to political activity. The third leg was religious ideals which saw a distinct line between the world of Belial and the world of Christ. The important fact is that in this period religious liberty, which the fathers so prized, brought about social acceptance which removed the social discriminations and political limitations and thus cut off two legs of the support for separation. Furthermore the third leg was severely weakened by the dimming of the sense of distinction between the

two worlds. It was evident therefore that if the sense of separation from the world was to be protected it must be done on some other basis than the traditional. The importance of this is clear when it is realized that the Anabaptist conception of the church is impossible without a keen sense of the distinction between the church and the world.

Referring further to the matter of religious ideals there may be noted three forces within the church itself which operated to weaken the Anabaptist conception of the church. First may be mentioned the tendency toward accepting an emotional type of spiritual religion which by focusing attention on inner experience denied or undercut the Anabaptist interest in practical following of Christ. By this emphasis the severity was taken from the *Nachfolge Christi* and a paler life substituted for the robust, aggressive discipleship of earlier days. Secondly, the development of secular interests increased points of contact with the world, smoothed relations with what had been an inhospitable environment and, without introducing evil, directed activities toward promoting things that were good in their place but denied the power of godliness. Thirdly, parallel with the secularization and freer acceptance of environment came various formal attempts to control the shift by authoritarian means. This attempt to conserve by force or legalism that which is essentially spiritual results in a loss of the *Gemeinschaft* or fellowship ideal.

In spite of these obvious losses in certain aspects of the Anabaptist conception of the church among American Mennonites there are elements of hope in the situation which may best be seen in the background of the more modern movements.

The Mennonite Church in the Present Period

The time of greatest freedom in approximating the environment was that of the years preceding the first World War. Then are found sanguine expressions of hopefulness for the new age, of confidence that the world was about to recognize the Mennonite position on peace, and a desire to join in co-operative programs for world uplift—arbitration and temperance especially. This was the time of the establishment of Mennonite colleges; it was the time when one Mennonite group joined the Federal Council of Churches. The war and the events that followed it brought a general disillusionment regarding the immediate coming of an era of international peace and destroyed the optimistic dreams of those Mennonites who looked for widespread acceptance of the Mennonite

pacifist position. Coupled with this was the feeling that other denominations had betrayed the peace cause.

As a result the General Conference withdrew from the Federal Council of Churches and the colleges went through a reorganization period when their programs and ideals were directed more consciously toward Mennonite patterns, and throughout the different branches of the Mennonites appeared co-operative efforts and an increased attention to a common Mennonite heritage. This appeared in All-Mennonite Conventions of the twenties, in postwar relief work under the Mennonite Central Committee, in peace conferences. It appeared also in an increased emphasis on retreats and youth work in which young people came to the discovery that there was a Mennonite heritage and a Mennonite way of life. More recently it has appeared in a widely expanding voluntary service program reaching into home and foreign fields.

These are some of the characteristics of what may be called the fourth period in Mennonite development in America. The appeal of secularism has not been overcome nor have all members joined in supporting Mennonite ideals but the problems are more clearly seen, clearer expressions of the faith are to be found, and widespread concern is evident for capturing again the best of the faith of our fathers.

THE HUTTERITE MENTAL HEALTH STUDY

JOSEPH W. EATON, ROBERT J. WEIL, AND BERT KAPLAN[1]

"More than one out of twenty in a mental hospital. One out of every ten Americans is likely to suffer a serious mental difficulty which will incapacitate them during some part of their lives." These are the best available estimates[2] of the toll now taken by that conglomerate of ills, lumped together in the catch-all phrase of "mental disease."

Actually there are many types of mental disease. Prospects for their treatment and cure vary. In few cases, however, is optimism possible for finding a quick and effective remedy. Mental illnesses are America's No. 1 disabler. Over half of all North American hospital beds are permanently occupied with such patients. If we add to this number the multitude of people suffering of psychosomatic diseases[3] the toll of mental strain, with its combined effect on body and soul, is heavy indeed.

Scientists are greatly interested in advancing our knowledge in this as yet poorly developed field of medicine. The terror of these diseases lies not so much in the fact that they might be fatal. They rarely are. But mental illnesses require long, expensive and often permanent hospital care. They also impose a great strain on the family of the patient, both financial and psychological. In the public mind, mental diseases are still considered shameful. In gossip sessions, neighbors might compete with each other talking about their "interesting" operations. But they will guard any incidence of mental disease in their family with atomic type secrecy.

[1] The writers are indebted for the advice of Rev. John Wurz, Bishop of the Dariusleut, Wilson Siding Colony, Lethbridge, Alberta, and Rev. David Decker, Tschetter Colony, Olivet, S.D., in the preparation of an early draft of this manuscript.

[2] Landis, Carney, and Page, James D., *Modern Society and Mental Disease* (N.Y., Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1938), p. 25.

[3] Alexander, Franz, M.D., and French, Thomas Morton, *Studies in Psychosomatic Medicine* (N.Y., The Ronald Press Co., 1948).

"Why study us Hutterites?" was one of the first questions which greeted us when visiting one of their communities. On the surface it certainly seems strange for Eastern college professors, teaching in large urban universities, to travel together in some of the most rural sections of South Dakota, Montana, Alberta and Manitoba, where the Hutterites live in 91 different colonies. Why would anyone select this little known sect of Anabaptist Christians for scientific scrutiny? They have lived in the United States and Canada for more than three-quarters of a century, with little more than superficial attention from journalists, social scientists or national research agencies who make it their business to study different people and the way they live. When we explained the purpose of our study, many Hutterites felt secure enough about themselves and their way of life to accept our "nosey" inquiries. Occasionally a somewhat more self-assertive individual would speak-up about what unquestionably was on the minds of many others: "Perhaps you are F.B.I. agents trying to find something with which you can make trouble for us? Or you might be working for one of those newspapers that wants an article on our way of life, distorting and lying about it enough to make sensational headlines." We learned that these apprehensions were understandable. The Hutterites have been contacted by several reporters or local politicians who tried to learn all about them in a few hours and later issued reports that were distorted by malicious bias.

A Reputation for Mental Health

The Hutterites were selected because of an unusual reputation for good mental health. Although no scientist has ever made a thorough investigation, there is a general impression that the Hutterites have a considerable immunity from symptoms of personal and social disorganization. Severe mental illness, requiring hospitalization, suicide, crime, juvenile delinquency and divorce—these and other indicators of personal tension so common in the American society at large, seem exceedingly rare among the more than 8,500 adherents of this religious kinship group.

What is the basis for the Hutterite reputation for good mental health? Bertha W. Clark, who travelled among them in the 1920's claims that they are entirely free of crime and notes their general contentment with life.[4] Dr. Lee Emerson Deets, whose doctor's thesis at Columbia University dealt with the Hutterites, observed

[4] Clark, Bertha W., "The Hutterian Communities," in *Journal of Political Economy*, 32, No. 4:357-74; 468-86, June-August, 1924.

an almost utopian happiness and concluded that "Compared with our society, the Hutterite community is an island of certainty and security in a river of change."[5] A report to the Manitoba legislature by the Manitoba Civil Liberties Association claims that the Hutterites do not "contribute to the over-crowding of our mental hospitals, since the mental security derived from their system results in a complete absence of mental illness."[6] Personal inquiry and correspondence with a large number of public officials as well as university professors who have made a systematic study of some aspect of Hutterite culture,[7] strongly confirm the impression so well expressed by Miss Mary Waldner of the Freeman College (a Mennonite school in South Dakota close to one of the centers of Hutterite settlement): "Most observers credit them with remarkable mental health and usually credit it to the freedom from tension and conflict which they enjoy in their way of life."[8]

Their reputation for possessing an unusual degree of peace of mind can also be traced back historically through many stages of the more than four century old religious sect. As early as 1669, we have a report by a Catholic novelist, Hans Jacob Christoph Grimmelshausen[9] about their community life. Their contentment attracted him greatly despite the "heretical opinions contrary to the general principles of the Christian Church," which he, as a devout Catholic, believed them to entertain:

> There was no anger, no jealousy, no vengeful spirit, no envy, no enmity, no concern about temporal things, no pride, no vanity, no gambling, no remorse; in a word, there was throughout and altogether a lovely harmony.

Nowhere in the literature can one find any significant dissent from this general picture. But these strongly positive judgments

[5] Deets, Lee Emerson, *The Hutterites: A Study of Social Cohesion* (Gettysburg, Pa., Times and News Publishing Company, 1939), p. 2.

[6] *The Bulletin of the Manitoba Civil Liberties Association* (Winnipeg, Manitoba), Vol. 1, No. 2, Winter, 1947-48, p. 3.

[7] Dr. A. J. F. Zieglschmid, linguist and historian, who edited the great Hutterite historical manuscripts and who, at the time of his recent death, was Professor of German at the University of Akron; Dr. Robert Friedmann, an expert on Mennonite history, now at Western Michigan College; Dr. Marcus Bach, Professor of Religion at the University of Iowa, who lived among Hutterites for short periods and wrote a novel based on his impressions (*The Dream Gate,* N.Y., The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1949); and Mr. Saul M. Katz, now at Harvard University, who presented a Master's thesis at Cornell University dealing with "The Security of Co-operative Farming."

[8] Waldner, Marie, "The Present Day Social Customs and Culture Patterns of the Hutterites in North America," in *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems* held at Freeman College, Freeman, S.D., in August, 1946.

[9] Quoted by Horsch, John, in his *The Hutterian Brethren 1528-1931* (Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen, Indiana, 1931), pp. 66-68.

about mental health were all made by persons who are not well qualified in this field and were only reporting their general impressions, none of which had been subjected to test. More careful checking on our part, however, provides considerable substantiation for their consensus:

"No Hutterites in our hospitals," report Insane Asylum administrators in South Dakota, Montana, Manitoba and Alberta. Outside of two patients, whom Hutterites brought in for short-term treatment in one of the Canadian provinces and five Hutterites who had some contact with a mental hygiene clinic, no record of institutional contact could be found since the immigration of the sect to North America.

A similar response was obtained from law-enforcement officers concerning crime and juvenile delinquency. Even if one includes isolated instances of petty thievery or the violation of ordinances concerning the unauthorized sale of liquor on the part of young Hutterites, the group has an unusually low incidence of recorded anti-social behavior. "Mind you, I don't like the way the beards live (Hutterite married males all wear beards) but you have to admit that we have less trouble with them than anybody else around here," was a typical response by a police officer.

Our investigation found that in the history of the sect since their coming into the United States, only one suicide, one divorce and two separations have occurred. There is no known case of parental abandonment of children and no incidence of arson, personal violence or attempted homicide. No sex crimes are known to have occurred although the Hutterites disclose knowledge of a few instances where their own strict sex mores have been violated during the present generation. These instances, to any reader of the Kinsey report, would hardly warrant the lifting of an eyebrow! A statistical comparison of incidence rates between the personal and social disorganization on symptoms found among Hutterites and other rural people is being calculated. But there is little doubt concerning the general trend. The Hutterites, as indicated by public records, show considerable social cohesion and adjustment.

The Hutterites themselves dissent somewhat from this testimony of public records. Our research found general willingness to discuss what the Hutterites call "our black sheep." There are mentally ill patients in several of the colonies. Neurotic people exist. The colonies generally prefer to look after these patients without public assistance. But for criminal or divorce statistics, Hutterite testimony confirms the official picture. Their religion would require

the excommunication of any individual involved and the reporting of their acts to the government authorities concerned.

Our study generally substantiates the Hutterite reputation for good personal and social adjustment although it notes more exceptions to the trend than any superficial acquaintance with the sect would reveal. These exceptional cases (these deviants from what the Hutterites call their "narrow path to salvation") provide important clues to any understanding of the Hutterite culture. They are being studied carefully, often with the active co-operation of the Hutterite patients concerned, their families and their community leaders.

Culture and Mental Health

There is widespread agreement among scientists that mental diseases are not simply a function of heredity or physical breakdown. They are significantly related to the way people grow up, mature and live as adults. Mental diseases do not strike people down at random. Cultural factors and conditions in the personal environment of individuals set up tensions, which in extreme cases and under special circumstances as yet not too well understood, lead to mental breakdown.

Every culture presents its members with ideal standards for the things worth striving for. If these standards conflict too much, people get no clear guidance on how to act. This applies to much of American culture today. For example; many Americans believe (at the same time) in the following contradictory values:

Honor your parents; they had experience in life.	BUT	The old generation is oldfashioned. Youth must seek progress.
A girl should be a sport and not be like an old maid.	BUT	A nice girl does not flirt, etc.
It is important to make money	BUT	Money is not everything.
Negroes are inferior	BUT	All men are created equal.

These examples could be multiplied many times. Many people go through life without much consciousness of these contradictory expectations which they live up to. But for others these inconsistencies produce a severe strain. A bank clerk steals because "he did not want to let his family down, who were trying to keep up with the Joneses next door;" a husband leaves his children because "it is not decent to live with a woman I no longer love." All these are instances where social pressure produces non-conformist behavior.[10]

[10] Merton, Robert K., "Social Structure and Anomie," in *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1949), pp. 125-149.

There is evidence that there are fewer such contradictions in the Hutterite culture. Armed with a stethoscope and other simple medical diagnostic instruments, projective psychological tests and systematic sociological interviewing procedures, we have begun to study the way Hutterites live—their religion, the manner in which they raise their children, the relationship of husband and wife, the way in which conflicts are settled, etc. In short, we are studying Hutterite culture in relation to the help or hindrance it gives to individuals in achieving a good mental balance. The Hutterites seem to do an effective job of preventive mental hygiene. We want to know how they do it, for whatever significance their experiences may have for the American society in general. Each with his own special experience and skill, our team including sociologist, psychologists and a psychiatrist, is working closely together to get as clear a picture of our objective as possible.

To most Americans, Hutterites are an unknown group. Even many of their immediate neighbors know little about them beyond the fact that they dress in simple, home-made garments, reminiscent of their South European peasant ancestors centuries ago. Their men wear beards, their women are never without their ankle-length flowing skirts and polka-dotted kerchiefs. They live in separate hamlets centering around a farmstead which supports the 15 families that comprise the average colony. Most of their life is lived there; members rarely go to town for any other reason than to do business, see a doctor or to get their mail. Most of them however, give an appearance of self-confidence as they walk about American or Canadian cities, although they are quite conscious of their different appearance. To many Americans they might seem strange and quaint, although some of their immediate neighbors who have made the effort to befriend them, find that the Hutterites' way of life is an open book, freely available to anyone interested to get to know it.

Hutterite communities practice an unusual degree of co-operation sustained by strong common beliefs, values and a historical consciousness of identity.[11] They hold all property in common. No wages are paid. Each person works to the best of his ability. He eats his meals in the community dining room, prepared by different women in rotation. If sick, the colony will look after him, sending him to specialists, such as the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, if local medical facilities do not seem adequate. In case of death,

[11] Eaton, Joseph W., "A Conceptual Theory of Co-operation," in *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LIV, No. 2, Sept. 1948; 126-134.

widows and dependents have no financial worries. The loss of a breadwinner never means the loss of bread. The Hutterite way of life provides social security from the womb to the tomb. The religious beliefs of the group assure their members a further guarantee for security beyond the tomb. It promises certain salvation to all who follow the precepts of their faith.

The co-operation also extends to the education of children. After the age of two and a half, boys and girls attend a communal kindergarten, where they spend most of the day. Later, when they go to school, they also spend many of their waking hours in the company of one another, under supervision of a Hutterite religious teacher, who is responsible for much of their discipline outside of hours when the children attend public school. Since both mother and father work for the colony, at least part of each day, older siblings assume much of the care of their younger brothers and sisters. In general, Hutterites grow up within a stable and closely-knit group of age-mates. Their imagination and expectations are influenced considerably by other children, close to them in physical and mental development. The Hutterites tend to become socialized more through *horizontal* identification with age-mates whereas the tendency in our culture is for much more *vertical* identification with the older generation. Johnny (or Jane) Hutterite grows into an adult through progressive stages of learning and competition with his buddies and those just a little older than he is, whereas John Doe Jr. strives to act like his dad as soon as he can walk, although the limitations in physical and emotional development will frustrate him for many years before he can hope to achieve this ambition.

The Hutterite family performs fewer functions than in the American society. Nevertheless, there is strong attachment to and identification with their families. Children are generally wanted. Birth-control practices are considered sinful; violations of this taboo are extremely rare. The community makes many provisions to share parental burdens when families grow large. Most children are born with the help of a Hutterite midwife. The husband and the mother, or another close female relative of the woman, are present during delivery. Most Hutterites prefer the security which these familiar people and surroundings give them to what they regard as the "coldly antiseptic" atmosphere of hospitals. However, in case of complications, a doctor will be called, and the mother may be delivered in a hospital with proper instruments. After birth, the community will provide enough help to a mother for eight weeks to

relieve her of all responsibility except the care of her baby. If she already has a large family, a single female relative or some other woman will volunteer to help her with sewing, washing and the many other chores connected with running a home. The Hutterite culture considers childbearing and rearing among its most important functions. Children are genuinely wanted and grow up in a community which is carefully organized to help them and their parents in this process.

The colonies are governed in secular matters by an assembly of all male men who have been baptized. Women have no formal vote. In religious matters, preachers usually are allowed to make the decisions. There also is a tendency to give greater responsibility to people as they grow old. While formally their system of government might be described as a democracy with patriarchal and theocratic trends, most actual group decisions are based on common consensus. Hutterites take care to keep their villages small enough so that people really know one another well. Controversial issues are rare because leaders know how their followers think. Decisions are not commonly made against the strong opposition of even a minority.

Hutterites have a great deal of freedom within their narrow path. There is no time clock to govern their work. Their pay is never docked if they want to take a day off to visit friends or see a doctor. But this freedom is purchased at, what must seem to many outsiders, considerable restrictions. These limits are self-imposed, by custom and religion. Most Hutterites are quite conscious of their limits and are brought up to believe that "too much individualism would destroy the solidarity and peace we need to live together like a flock of sheep," to quote one of their leaders. Individuals must consult the group before they do anything not sanctioned by time-honored custom. They all wear the same clothes, homemade by the women for their families from cloth bought for the whole village. They eat together in the communal dining room, with no special diets, except for those who are ill. All homes are furnished with standardized and simple equipment. Hutterites believe it to be sinful to enjoy what they define as "worldly luxuries," such as radios, pleasure cars, fashionable clothing, jewelry and other material goods.

This puritan self-denial, however, is not coupled with a rejection of the technological developments of our age. For themselves, most Hutterites will forego running water in their homes; the old-fashioned wash basin will do. But for their chickens they

will construct the most modern coops, well designed for efficient egg-laying with running water close by. They will stock them with good breeds of hens as recommended by the Agricultural Experiment Station. Their machinery often is the most modern found in the neighborhood.

To the visitor they may appear to be a freak survival of sixteenth century peasant culture because of the way they dress, the ancient sermons they preach, the songs they sing and customs they adhere to. But in the economic realm they certainly keep up with what they call the "world." Their leaders also have considerable insight into current affairs, be they local, national or international. The Hutterites have become integrated in much of the American culture, but are trying hard to assimilate selectively. They use their religious beliefs as guides for deciding on modifications of their way of life in response to outside influences. The process can perhaps be described best as *controlled acculturation.* Only a stable community which has considerable control over its members through their allegiance and loyalty to its way of life, can make such a planned adjustment to conflicting ideas with which the community comes into contact.[12] Although there are rumblings of deeper change, they have so far been successful in transmitting the essence of their way of life to the next generation.

Genetic Homogeneity

Hutterites are a predominantly youthful population. In 1949 over half (50.3%) were less than 15 years of age, against less than a third (32%) among the rural farm people of Alberta, South Dakota and Manitoba. The Hutterite birth rate is exceedingly high, 38.6 children per 1,000 people having been born to Hutterites in 1949, against 30.0 among all people in Montana or 22.1 among white rural people in the United States in general. Correspondingly, Hutterites have a low death rate; 5.3 people died for every 1,000 in 1949, against nearly 8 (7.96) among U.S. white rural people, or

[12] The relationship between the Hutterites and the American and Canadian culture is similar to the kind of controlled acculturation reported by Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead for the Balinese people and the Dutch (Bateson, Gregory and Mead, Margaret, *Balinese Character,* New York Academy of Sciences, December 7, 1942, p. 262).

"For hundreds of years the Balinese have been adopting and resisting cultural details from other peoples, especially from the Chinese and from higher centers of Hindooism; and two characteristics of Balinese culture are ready acceptance of those small details of custom and technology which can be absorbed without changing the basic premises of life, and the utter inability and unwillingness to contemplate any more drastic changes. The Dutch, on their side, have shown a preference for using the existing native social structure as fully as possible. They have indulged in no arbitrary interference with native life—"

over 10 (10.1) among the U.S. general population. These unusual population statistics will require further checking, over a longer period of time, to make more certain of their validity. However, the phenomenal natural increase of the sect, almost entirely through natural increase, suggests that the high rate of births and low rate of deaths has been a continuous phenomenon ever since the people came to the U.S.A. There were about 300 of them in 1875 living in three colonies. Today in 1950 there are over 8,500 Hutterites living in 91 colonies, descendants from these original immigrants. (Converts, of which there are not many, are not included in these calculations.)

The Hutterites show considerable internal stability. It has been a common experience for minority groups in the U.S.A. to find themselves assimilating rapidly as they come into contact with the American way of life. Present day Hutterites are the third to fifth generation of their people on this continent. They and their way of life have undergone many changes, but their group identity remains essentially intact. Few of their young people leave their colonies permanently. Some of the younger boys go away to "try the world." Most of them return. More precise statistical rates are in process of calculation, but there is a strong suggestion that Hutterites, despite increasing difficulties, are by and large successful in bringing their children up to live in accordance with their beliefs and expectations.

What makes the sect's experience even more significant is that their social system has perpetuated itself for over 400 years, often in the face of terrible persecution (or perhaps because of it, too). They are no odd mutation of history. They originated around the year 1528 when a group of Tyrolese peasants, influenced by an Anabaptist preacher named Jacob Hutter, fled to Moravia to escape persecution. Hutter exhorted his followers to restore the simple truths of the Bible, as he saw them. Among the most outstanding differences with the established churches was his belief in the sinfulness of private property, the wickedness of the use of force under any circumstances, adult baptism, refusal to take oaths and the insistence on simplicity in living conditions. In 1536 Hutter was burned at the stake after terrible tortures. For over three centuries a band of faithful, sometimes diminishing in numbers close to extinction, were forced to flee many times—from Switzerland and Austria, to Moravia, Hungary, Rumania and finally to Russia. In Russia they lived for nearly a century under the liberal conditions offered such refugees by the czarina, Catherine the Great,

who was anxious to build up the economic power of her country through the attraction of skilled laborers and farmers. In the 1870's the Hutterites moved to the United States when Czar Alexander II threatened to abrogate their privileges of maintaining their own schools and of exemption from military service.

In the annals of American experiments with co-operative living, the Hutterites stand out because of their capacity to maintain permanent co-operative farm communities. The Owenites, Brook Farm, Oneida and the Amana people, to mention only a few of the roughly 300 efforts to live communally, are today only of interest to historians.[13] The Hutterites have grown and expanded in the face of competition for their young generation with the more powerful American culture.

The Hutterites do many things differently from the way most Americans would do them. However, unlike the many "primitive" cultures such as the Samoans described by Dr. Margaret Mead,[14] who also seem to have good mental health, the Hutterites are close to the mainstream of America. They are closely and deeply influenced by the larger culture. Their children attend a public school in the colony usually taught by a non-Hutterite, as the sect does not encourage its own young people to get the necessary advanced education to qualify for school teaching. They have daily business and social contact with the "world." They are more literate and capable of speaking English than many of the minority groups in the United States and Canada. However, they keep going without the incentives we need to motivate our people. Wealth, personal power and artistic adornment are considered sinful objectives. They also get along without many of the negative social controls, like imprisonment, fines, threats of loss of livelihood or loss of life itself.

The order of their society is maintained through an internalized discipline of the conscience, re-enforced through a fear of external punishment and social disapproval. The Hutterites have certain freedoms we don't have; but also many restrictions which they themselves recognize as "very hard" to adhere to. But for the most part, they do.

Our search for clues to the cultural and environmental factors in mental health is complicated by Hutterite homogeneity through heredity and a long history of biological selection. The Hutterites may have acquired some genetic or somatic immunity against cer-

[13] Eaton, Joseph W., *Exploring Tomorrow's Agriculture* (N.Y., Harper and Brothers, 1943), pp. 207-239.

[14] Mead, Margaret, *From the South Seas* (N.Y., William Morrow and Co., 1939).

tain mental diseases, in which such factors play an important role. They are one of America's most inbred groups, because of their anxiety for centuries to marry only with their religious sect. There have been few converts within the last 75 years, during which there was a natural increase of over 2,800%, almost exclusively through in-group marriages. There are now only sixteen family names among the kinship Hutterites, with eight names predominating and accounting for a considerable proportion of the entire population.[15] There also are folk beliefs among the Hutterites about the influence of heredity on personality. Some family strains are considered constitutionally healthy or weak by them. Some American doctors, who practice among them, express similar hunches. Our research team is therefore not overlooking the possible role of genetic and somatic factors in the mental health of these people, although short of a complete genetic survey, which technically and financially cannot be made within the framework of our present study, their influence can only be assessed qualitatively.

Prospect of the Study

Mental health is a product of the body, the mind and the environment with which we live. Hutterites, although part of our larger society, seem to have a degree of immunity against some types of mental illness. One can only speculate that it may arise from a combination of genetic selection and the special cultural practices, which differ so markedly from our own. Also, those Hutterites who do become ill, should help us in gaining a deeper understanding into the causal factors of such illnesses. They have become ill in a society which lacks some of the contradictions which complicate our lives. They have become ill in a world without economic insecurity, keen competition and with few conflicting value expectations.

Peace of mind is a relative quantity. No person can live without some tension. Problems are the very essence of life. Only in death is there absolute peace of mind. There is little doubt however, that the Hutterites have relatively much of it. The restrictions the Hutterites place upon themselves may help to reduce the areas of conflict and tensions under which they would otherwise live. Quite consciously, the sect reduces the contact of its members with what they regard as problem creating "temptations." The study

[15] The following family names are found among the Hutterites. Those in italics are the most common: Decker, Entz, Glanzer, Gross, *Hofer*, Janzen, *Kleinsasser*, Knels (almost extinct), Maendl, *Stahl, Waldner, Walter, Wipf*, Wollman, *Wurz, Tschetter.*

has not yet been completed: much of the data has yet to be analyzed, and additional field work will be required. Many Hutterites are actively co-operating in furnishing information, as well as assisting in its interpretation.

Our study is exploring the causes of their health; we also are examining their "price" in psychological repression, inventiveness, new experience, creativity and social change which the Hutterites say they pay to maintain such a record. We want to know what avenues of psychological escape are culturally permitted when problems arise which Hutterites cannot resolve directly. Such mental conflicts do exist. The Hutterites have no utopia.

The American bookstores are full of well advertised guides to "perfect happiness." The covers and titles of the volumes are well designed to suggest: "Read me, I cost only $3.50, won't take more than a few hours of your time and won't involve you in any real change of your life pattern!" The study of the Hutterite culture strongly suggests that mental health and ill-health are rooted much deeper in the very essence of our personal lives and civilization.

CENSUS OF HUTTERITE COLONIES

The ninety-six colonies of Hutterite religion or descent were included in the list for the following reasons:

1. All colonies practice community ownership of goods in line with Hutterite religious principles.

2. All colonies are populated largely by descendants of the Hutterites who migrated to South Dakota in 1874 to establish three communal villages, or have recently been baptized in the Hutterite Church. The three Hutterite parent colonies, one for each kinship group, were as follows:

a. *Schmiedenleut*: Bon Homme, Tabor, South Dakota, established 1874, Preacher Michael Waldner
b. *Dariusleut*: Wolf Creek Colony, South Dakota, established 1874, Preacher Darius Walter
c. *Lehrerleut*: Old Elmspring, Milltown, South Dakota, established 1877, Preacher Jacob Wipf.

The colonies have been classified in the following categories: Kinship Colonies; Unaffiliated Kinship Colonies; Convert Colonies.

Kinship Colonies are made up almost exclusively of biological descendants of the original Hutterite immigrants from 1874 to 1877, who established communal farms, and who enjoy good standing within the Hutterite Church. They include only thirty-eight converts of different biological stock. Many of these converts, however, are Mennonites, who came from the same section of Russia and often from the same villages in which the Hutterite immigrants originated. Culturally and genetically, they share a general background of Anabaptist religion, South German, Swiss, and Bohemian ethnic origin and a period of refuge in the Crimea in Russia, before coming to the United States during the 1870's.

Unaffiliated Kinship Colonies are made up of persons who are largely biological descendants of the original Hutterite immigrants. They have refused to recognize the church discipline of the majority of Hutterite religious leaders and are therefore not recognized by them as members of the Hutterite Church. They practice community of property and many other Hutterite customs, but have made some changes in their way of life that would be acceptable to most regular Hutterites.

Convert Colonies are made up almost exclusively of persons who were converted to the Hutterite faith during the last fifteen years. They include a group of primarily Hungarian and American-Canadian origin at Bright, Ontario, as well as persons from Germany, England, and other West European countries, in the colonies in England and Paraguay. These Hutterites have very diverse cultural backgrounds. Many have advanced educational experiences and some have professions not normally practiced by the Kinship Hutterites, such as doctors, chemists, and other skilled occupations. Only their Hutterite faith and their community property ties them together. So far, only one marriage has taken place between persons from the two groups. Their contact is largely through occasional visiting and conferences of leaders to discuss common religious and economic problems.

HUTTERITE KINSHIP COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA

Map Code No.	Name of Colony	Address	Yr. Settled in Present Location	Population, Early 1950	Name of Head Preacher
DARIUSLEUT, ALBERTA					
1.	Camrose	Camrose	1949	83	Paul Hofer
2.	Cayley	Cayley	1937	80	Paul A. Walter
3.	East Cardston	Cardston	1918	81	Jacob Hofer
4.	Ewelme (Murphy)	Macleod	1928	69	Joseph Hofer
5.	Ferry Bank	Ponoka	1949	75	Michael Wipf
6.	Granum	Granum	1930	75	Martin R. Walters
7.	Holt	Jarrow	1949	57	Peter S. Tschetter
8.	Howl Ranch (Tschetter)	Irricana	1948	76	Jacob Tschetter
9.	Husher (Rosebud)	Crossfield	1944	78	Christian Tschetter
10.	Lakeside	Cranford	1935	91	Joseph K. Wipf
11.	New Rosebud (Rosebud)	Beiseker	1926	65	Paul S. Stahl
12.	New York	Maybutt	1924	110	Jacob Hofer
13.	Pincher Creek	Pincher Creek	1926	85	Paul Gross
14.	Pine Hill	Penhold	1948	86	Peter Hofer
15.	Riverside	Glenwood	1933	86	Lorenz R. Tschetter
16.	Rosebud	Redland	1918	187	George Hofer
17.	Sandhill	Beiseker	1936	114	Jacob K. Wurz
18.	Springvale	Rockyford	1918	77	Michael M. Wurz
19.	Stahlville	Rockyford	1919	98	David R. Waldner
20.	Stand Off	Macleod	1918	76	Jacob Walter
21.	Thompson	Glenwood	1918	76	Paul J. Tschetter
22.	West Raley	Cardston	1918	117	Christian C. Waldner
23.	Willow Creek (Red Willow)	Stettler	1949	89	Jacob S. Stahl
24.	Wilson Siding	Lethbridge	1918	140	John M. Wurz
25.	Wolf Creek	Stirling	1924	76	Joshua E. Hofer
DARIUSLEUT, MONTANA					
26.	Ayers Ranch	Grass Range	1945	54	John A. Stahl
27.	Deerfield (Bank Ranch)	Danvers	1947	65	Paul Stahl
28.	King Ranch	Lewistown	1935	61	Joseph Stahl
29.	Spring Creek	Lewistown	1945	26	Paul Walter
LEHRERLEUT, ALBERTA					
30.	Big Bend	Woolford	1920	129	Jacob J. Entz
31.	Crystal Spring	Magrath	1937	117	Peter A. Entz
32.	Elmspring (Tanny)	Warner	1929	177	Michael Entz
33.	Hutterville	Magrath	1932	155	John J. Waldner
34.	Macmillan	Cayley	1937	127	Jacob Wipf
35.	Miami	New Dayton	1924	103	Peter P. Hofer
36.	Milford (Buck Ranch)	Raymond	1918	134	John J. Kleinsasser
37.	New Elm (New Elmspring)	Magrath	1918	115	John J. Entz
38.	New Rockport	New Dayton	1932	113	John J. Wipf
39.	O.K.	Raymond	—	96	Peter Hofer
40.	Old Elm	Magrath	1918	151	Andrew J. Wurz
41.	Queenstown (New Dale)	Queenstown	1950	60	Samuel Decker
42.	Rock Lake	Wrentham	1935	89	Andrew G. Gross
43.	Rockport	Magrath	1918	100	Joseph J. Wipf
44.	Sunny-Site	Warner	1935	186	Jacob M. Hofer

LEHRERLEUT, MONTANA

45.	Birch Creek	Valier	1947	95	Jacob A. Waldner
46.	Miami	Pendroy	1948	112	John P. Wipf
47.	(New) Milford	Augusta	1945	105	Joseph J. Kleinsasser
48.	Miller	Choteau	1949	100	Jacob Kleinsasser
49.	New Rockport	Choteau	1948	101	Peter D. Hofer
50.	Rockport	Choteau	1947	100	Joseph Waldner
51.	Sunnyside	Sweet Grass	1950		In process of establishment.

UNAFFILIATED COLONIES, ALBERTA

52.	Felger	Lethbridge	1924	25	——
53.	Hofer Brothers	Brocket	1920	15	George Hofer
54.	Monarch	Monarch	1942	31	Jacob Mandel
55.	Stirling Mennonite	Stirling	1944	30	John Hofer

SCHMIEDENLEUT, MANITOBA

56.	Barickman	Headingly	1920	151	David Hofer
57.	Blumengard	Plum Coulee	1922	132	Jacob J. Hofer
58.	Bon Homme	Benard	1918	108	Joseph Wollman
59.	Elm River	Newton Siding	1934	153	David J. Hofer
60.	Huron	Benard	1918	193	Joseph Glanzer
61.	Iberville	Headingly	1919	101	Peter Gross, Sr.
62.	James Valley	Starbuck	1918	128	Peter Hofer
63.	Lakeside	Headingly	1946	94	George Wipf
64.	Maxwell	Headingly	1918	86	George Waldner
65.	Milltown	Benard	1918	54	Michael Waldner
66.	New Rosedale	Portage la Prairie	1944	155	Andreas Hofer
67.	Poplar Point	Poplar Point	1938	93	Joseph Waldner
68.	Riverdale	Gladstone	1946	98	David Wurz
69.	Riverside	Arden	1934	98	John R. Hofer
70.	Rock Lake	Gross Isle	1947	85	Michael Gross
71.	Rosedale	Elie	1918	128	Jacob Hofer
72.	Sturgeon Creek	Headingly	1938	118	Samuel Kleinsasser
73.	Sunnyside	Newton Siding	1925	93	Joseph Kleinsasser
74.	Waldheim	Elie	1935	121	Michael Waldner
75.	Springfield	Vivian	1950	83	Joseph Waldner

SCHMIEDENLEUT, NORTH DAKOTA

76.	Forest River Farm	Inkster	1950		In process of establishment.

SCHMIEDENLEUT, SOUTH DAKOTA

77.	Bon Homme	Tabor	1874	58	Joseph J. Wurz
78.	Glendale	Frankfort	1949	97	John Waldner
79.	Gracevale	Winfred	1948	71	Jacob Wipf
80.	Huron	Huron	1944	74	Jacob P. Wollman
81.	Jamesville	Utica	1937	107	Frederick F. Waldner
82.	Maxwell	Scotland	1949	72	Joseph J. Hofer
83.	Millerdale	Miller	1949	54	John Z. Waldner
84.	New Elm Spring	Ethan	1936	102	Samuel Wollman
85.	Pearl Creek	Iroquois	1949	94	Michael Waldner
86.	Platte	Academy	1949	68	Joseph M. Waldner
87.	Riverside	Huron	1949	48	John J. Waldner
88.	Rockport	Alexandria	1934	84	Daniel S. Wipf
89.	Rosedale	Mitchell	1945	92	Joseph M. Waldner
90.	Spink	Frankfort	1945	94	John S. Wipf
91.	Tschetter	Olivet	1942	94	David Decker, Sr.

CONVERT COLONIES

ONTARIO					
92.	Colony Farm of the Brethren	Bright	1941	46	Julius Kubassek
ENGLAND					
93.	Wheathill Bruderhof	Brandon Bridgeworth Salop	1942	165	George Barth
PARAGUAY					
94.	Sociedad Fraternal	Primavera Alto	1942		
95.	Isla Margarita	Primavera Alto	1942	500 (Est.)	Hans Meier
96.	Loma Hobby	Primavera Alto	1942		

SUMMARY OF HUTTERITE POPULATION CENSUS, BY KINSHIP GROUP AND LOCATION

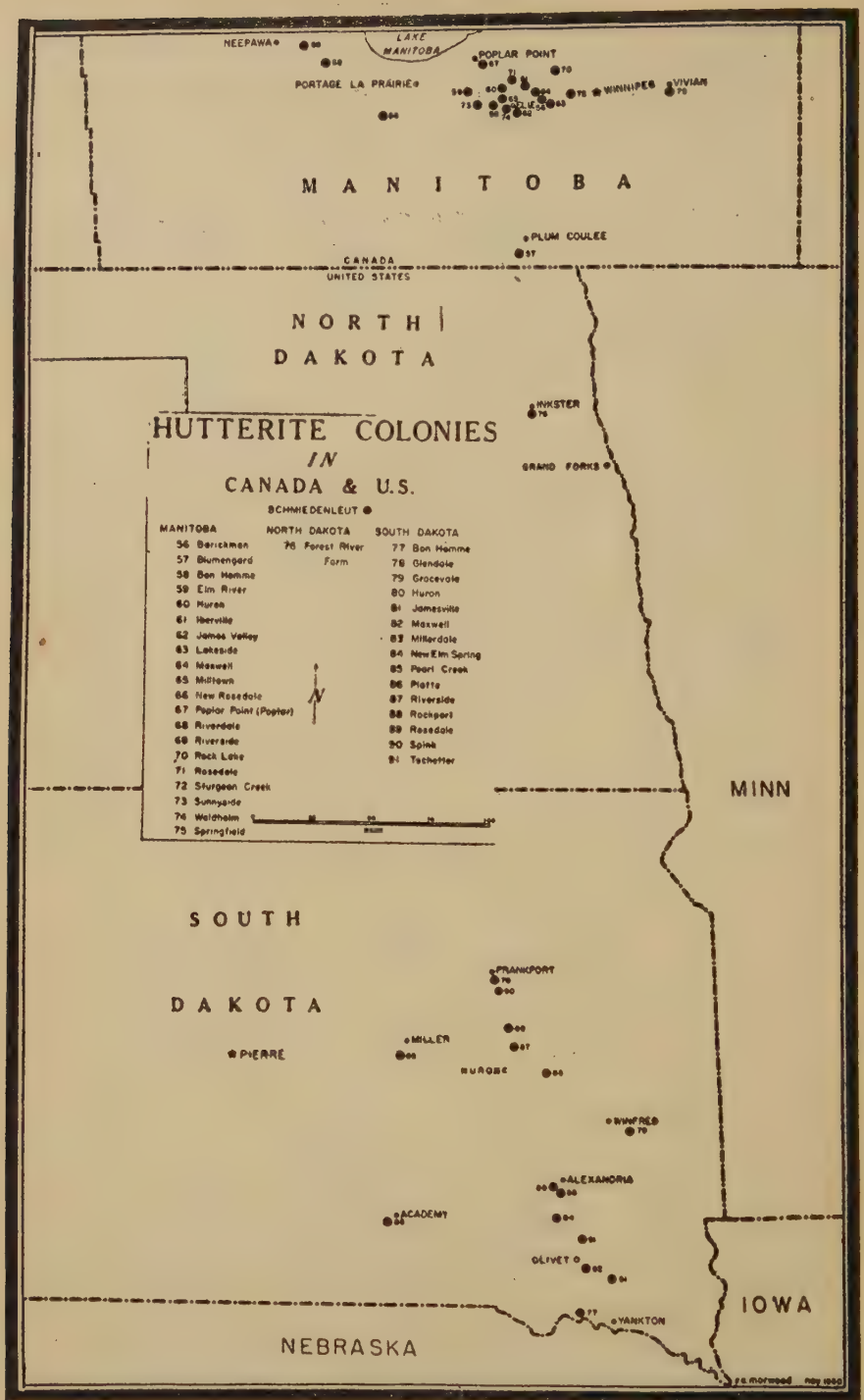
Dariusleut, Alberta	*Dariusleut, Montana*	*Total*
2,247	206	2,453
Lehrerleut, Alberta	*Lehrerleut, Montana*	
1,852	613	2,465
Schmiedenleut, Manitoba	*Schmiedenleut, S. Dakota*	
2,272	1,209	3,481
Unaffiliated colonies, Alberta		
101		101
	Total, Kinship Colonies	8,500
	Total, Convert Colonies	711 (est.)
	Total No. of Hutterites	9,211

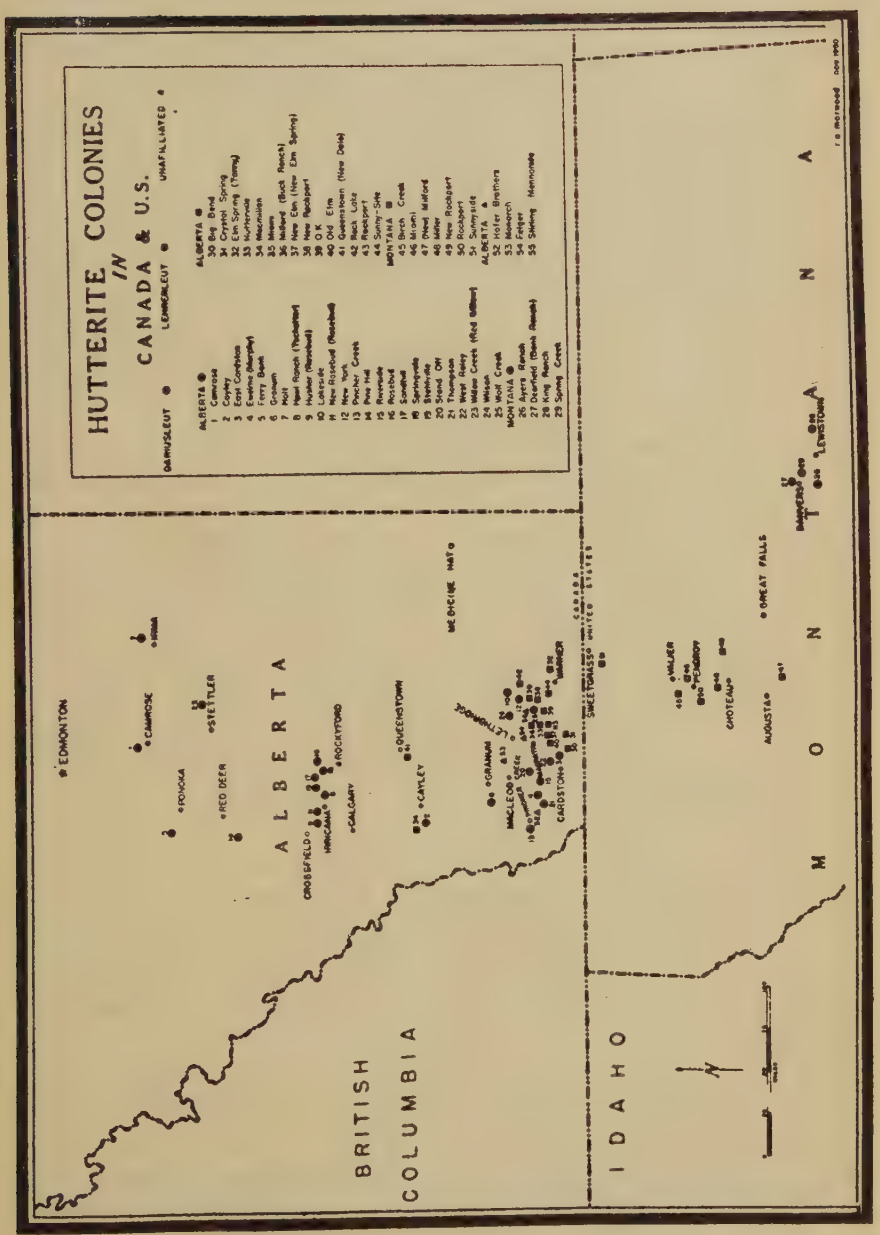
SUMMARY OF HUTTERITE POPULATION CENSUS BY LOCATION

Montana	819
South Dakota	1,209
Alberta	4,200
Manitoba	2,272
Ontario	46
England	165
Paraguay	500 (est.)
	9,211

NOTE FOR THE MAPS ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES

Rev. David Decker, Tschetter Colony, South Dakota; Rev. Paul Gross, Pincher Creek Colony, Alberta; Rev. Peter Hofer, James Valley Colony, Manitoba; Rev. Joseph Waldner, Springfield Colony, Manitoba; and Rev. John Wurz, Wilson Colony, Alberta, assisted in preparing a list of Hutterite colonies and determining their location. The maps were prepared under the direction of Dr. Joseph W. Eaton, Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan, with the assistance of Evelyn Plaut; they were drawn by R. A. Morwood of the Dept. of Geography at Wayne University. Only Hutterite kinship colonies are included. Recent converts have established several other colonies: Colony Farm of the Brethren, Bright, Ontario; Wheathill Bruderhof, England; Sociedad Fraternal, Isla Margarita, and Loma Hobby, Paraguay.


NEEPAWA
LAKE MANITOBA
POPLAR POINT
PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE
WINNIPEG
VIVIAN
MANITOBA
PLUM COULEE
CANADA
UNITED STATES
NORTH DAKOTA
HUTTERITE COLONIES
IN
CANADA & U.S.
SCHMIEDENLEUT
MANITOBA
56 Barrickman
57 Blumengard
58 Bon Homme
59 Elm River
60 Huron
61 Iberville
62 James Valley
63 Lakeside
64 Maxwell
65 Milltown
66 New Rosedale
67 Poplar Point (Poplar)
68 Riverdale
69 Riverside
70 Rock Lake
71 Rosedale
72 Sturgeon Creek
73 Sunnyside
74 Waldheim
75 Springfield
NORTH DAKOTA
76 Forest River Farm
SOUTH DAKOTA
77 Bon Homme
78 Glendale
79 Grocevale
80 Huron
81 Jamesville
82 Maxwell
83 Millerdale
84 New Elm Spring
85 Pearl Creek
86 Platte
87 Riverside
88 Rockport
89 Rosedale
90 Spink
91 Tschetter
WYNDMERE
GRAND FORKS
MINN
SOUTH DAKOTA
FRANKFORT
MILLER
PIERRE
HURON
WINFRED
ALEXANDRIA
ACADEMY
OLIVET
YANKTON
IOWA
NEBRASKA


HUTTERITE COLONIES
IN
CANADA & U.S.
DARKHUSLEUT
LEHRERLEUT
UNAFFILIATED
ALBERTA
1 Camrose
2 Forest
3 East Cardston
4 Eastern (Morgan)
5 Ferry Bank
6 Groom
7 Hill
8 Hutterdale (Rockyford)
9 Hutterite (Rockyford)
10 Lakeside
11 New Rosedale (Rosedale)
12 New York
13 Pincher Creek
14 Pine Hill
15 Rockyford
16 Rosedale
17 Sandhill
18 Springvale
19 Starkville
20 Stand Off
21 Thompson
22 Valley View
23 Wilson Creek (Mod Milton)
24 Wrentham
25 Wolf Creek
MONTANA
26 Ayers Ranch
27 Big Sandy (Rosedale Ranch)
28 Box Elder
29 Spring Creek
ALBERTA
30 Bear Creek
31 Crystal Spring
32 Elm Spring (Tilley)
33 Hutterville
34 Macmillan
35 Miami
36 Milford (Black Creek)
37 New Elm (New Elm Spring)
38 New Rockport
39 O.K.
40 Old Elm
41 Queenstown (New Dale)
42 Rock Lake
43 Rockport
44 Sunny Side
MONTANA
45 Birch Creek
46 Miami
47 (New) Milford
48 Miller
49 New Rockport
50 Rockport
51 Sunnyside
ALBERTA
52 Hofer Brothers
53 Raleigh
54 Rockport
55 Sterling Mennonite
EDMONTON
CAMROSE
FOWLER
STETTLER
RED DEER
ALBERTA
CROSSFIELD
CALGARY
ROCKYFORD
QUEENSTOWN
CAYLEY
GRANUM
MACLEOD
CARDSTON
MEDICINE HAT
SWEETGRASS
UNITED STATES
CANADA
WALKER
PENDROY
CHOTEAU
AUGUSTA
GREAT FALLS
LEWISTOWN
BRITISH
COLUMBIA
IDAHO
MONTANA

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH NOTES

An Ancient Anabaptist Witness for Nonresistance

SAMUEL GEISER*

Some months ago I found among the books in the attic of a Mennonite family in the Emmental (Canton of Berne, Switzerland) a remarkable book about the size of an old Bernese psalter. It was an old leather-bound volume, partly worm-eaten and entirely handwritten. On closer examination, it was found that in addition to a number of old martyr hymns the volume contained a most extraordinary testimony for the nonresistance of the early Anabaptists. The book itself was written more than two hundred years ago, in the early eighteenth century, but the nonresistance document is two hundred years older than that and bears the date of April 12, 1529. We have here then a copy of a very ancient manuscript coming out of the earliest period of Anabaptism. It is also notable that this document, although quite probably of private character, agrees with the oldest Anabaptist confession of faith, namely, that of 1527 of Schleitheim. Like almost all the Anabaptist writing, it often quotes the Sermon on the Mount. The title is as follows: *Das Urteil von dem Schwert mit underschidlichem gewalt dreier fürstenthum der Welt, Juden, und Christen, mit Anderen Anliegenden sachen. Beschrieben durch Clemens Adler im Jahr M D X X I X .*

In the preface the author indicates his purpose, which is to distinguish the various ages, and to comprehend correctly the difference between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of this world. He writes:

> If anyone in truth desires to recognize, know, and understand the right principles which God has established concerning government and its power, he must recognize that all the people of the world have been divided according to Biblical truth into three parts with varying limits and periods, time and duration, and must know how God has given and commanded to each people *(Volck)*, and when and what and where. It is indeed true that according to our nature we are all the creatures of one Creator, are all people of one Lord, but we are nevertheless divided into different peoples according to His command, as we shall hereafter see, and now and in truth clearly are recognized and understood to be different, namely, through testing and persecution. Written April 12, 1529.

The author begins by establishing his position that "all power and might to punish everything evil belongs in its ultimate essence to God, and is by Him variantly assigned to men according to measure, purpose, time, and duration." He then points out the various ages from Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Moses on down to "the spiritual kingdom of Christ" which has been established as a new kingdom in contrast to the "material kingdom of the Jews."

> Christ Himself says, My kingdom is not of this world, and at another place, the kingdom of God cometh not with observation, for the kingdom of God is within you. But since the kingdom of Christ is spiritual, how can it tolerate a foreign king over its faith, against such a clear and unmistakable commandment. The kingdom of Christ is not temporal but eternal. The spiritual kingdom, however, which is the Christian Church, cannot have as its Lord an earthly (*leiblicher*) king and foreigner, since in the spiritual realm there is one only Lord, who is Christ Jesus, the

* Samuel Geiser, historian of the Swiss Mennonite. Brügg bei Biel, Canton Bern. The article is translated from the German.

Son of the living God. But since the king is spiritual, as well as His kingdom, how can the sword, which is the Word of God, be material (*leiblich*) and murderous? Now he who attempts to rule by force in this kingdom is undertaking to drive Christ out of His kingdom, but he who opposes Christ is an antichrist and will be consumed and destroyed by Christ at His coming through the word of His mouth.

The author now proceeds to show that Christ has brought the "kingdom of peace." And "all who have become one in faith through the word of the Lord" and look unto Christ, the Lamb of God, and seek to become "conformable to their Lord in all humility, patience, and meekness," they "do not quarrel, nor go to war, nor go to law, yea, none of them harm anyone in all Mount Zion. They kill no one, for they have made their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks: nation does not lift up sword against nation, for the earth is full of the knowledge of God and His will." The wild beast nature in the men of this world "who shed men's blood and drink it, and eat men's flesh" has nothing to do with the peaceful kingdom of Christ.

In the heart in which truly a transformation has occurred through Christ the king of peace

all malice, injustice, avarice, pride, all sins and vices, are suppressed, and all truth, justice, goodness, humility, patience, and mercy are planted and established again in the heart of man; yea, all quarrelsome, envious and murderous ways are rooted out of the heart of man and henceforth only the true love of God and one's neighbor, grace, favor, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost dwell there. So everything becomes right and good in all those beings who fully surrender to God, and the glory of God will be revealed in them. Such a people are called the peaceful people and are called the sons and children of God; yea, they shall inherit the eternal land of peace.

Christ, the king of peace, is typified by Melchizedek, who is a King of Salem, that is, of peace. This king of peace puts "his peace in the depth of the hearts" of His own. The same

also have peace with everyone, harm no one in any respect, neither in body nor in goods, but endure at the hands of all men all kinds of injustice which may be done to them; yea, for the love of Christ they love their enemies, do good to them and pray for them, as Christ teaches them, and thus hearken to the voice of their shepherd. Even if the world rises up against them, rages and storms against them, yet they rage and storm against none; and if the world lifts up its sword against them, yet they take no sword against it nor against anyone, for they have made their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks.

Christ is a king of righteousness. He will judge men not according to outward appearance, but according to their inmost nature, according to their disposition. Christ, the eternal truth, forbids not only backbiting against one's neighbor, "but also malicious accusation and judgment." On the contrary, He teaches us to forgive our debtors. If we forgive, God, our heavenly Father, will also forgive our trespasses. Heaven and earth, yea, God Himself, are witnesses that this principle applies only to the true Christian, and not to the heathen nor to the Jew, for those outside do not concern us that we should judge them as "the foreigners who are not members in the Christian Church, for we judge only those who are in the Christian Church with the judgment which Christ has given and commanded us, according to the spirit and truth in the discipline (*Ordnung*) which excommunicates the disobedient."

"Mercy, grace, and goodness go beyond the law in this merciful kingdom of Christ, which is not bloodthirsty like the law of Moses, nor like the judgment of this world. Wherefore if we wish to escape the eternal judgment and condemnation of God, we will follow the teaching of Christ and His Word, who says further: To them of old time it was said, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil." In the old law of Moses, the Jews were commanded, "to punish transgressors with bloody punishment." Christ, however, does not want us to resist evil in any way, whether with litigation or with another form of revenge, but we shall suffer all evil at the hand of every man, whatsoever a man may do to us with words or with deeds, for vengeance is His alone, He will repay. No one who desires to be a Christian shall seek vengeance here. But since a Christian is obliged to forgive everyone all trespasses, why then does a Christian need to have a criminal judge (*Blutrichter*)? To judge concerning crime (*Blut*) is a matter which belongs to the heathen. So if we now judge crime, which some believe should be done according to the law of Moses, while others would judge according to the authority of the worldly government, which does not concern the Christian at all, how can the command of Christ be kept regarding repentance unto the remission of all sin, which we are to preach to the whole world? Such a commandment of Christ were wholly vain and useless if sinners were to be robbed of such mercy by the sword, but, since we are obliged to forgive sinners their sins for the sake of the name of Jesus Christ our Lord and just judge, how could we then condemn sinners to death?

Just as a sinful man seeks the forgiving grace of the heavenly Father, "so also shalt thou have mercy toward thy neighbor and forgive him his sins and not judge over his life, nor kill him. If thou doest this thou wilt also have forgiveness of thy sins, otherwise the heavenly Father will not forgive thee thy sins" (Matt. 7:1 and 2).

"Concerning the power of the keys in the Christian Church"

But in order that the weeds of false teaching should not take root nor grow up in the Christian Church, Christ has given to His bride, the Christian Church, His spiritual sword which is the Word of God, to cut off all false teaching, all human prattle, and all false sects, which are contrary to His Word. Along with this He also gave the keys to exclude and to admit. Those whose conduct is disorderly and who live offensively in the Christian Church shall be first admonished in a brotherly way, then brought before witnesses, and thirdly, if they do not improve shall be brought before the church and openly rebuked. If they do not henceforth abstain from sin and their evil life, they shall be excommunicated and shall be to us as the heathen, and also we shall have no fellowship with them either in eating or drinking. "Not that one is to kill them, for excommunication is not killing, is not stoning, nor hanging, burning nor drowning, like the world does, also like the law of Moses."

From all this it is easy to determine who is a Christian and not a Christian, for our neighbors, the sword users (*Schwärtler*), also think they are Christians, but their works and deeds prove something much different. Their life accords very little and not at all with the teaching and life of Christ. Yea, they are neither heathen, Jews, nor Christians, they do not know themselves what they are, for they mix and patch the one to the other, namely, the sword of the world, of Moses, and of Christ together. That fits well together, cabbage, peas, and turnips, that this should all be one thing. O blindness, blindness! Through these testimonies one can be reminded still more that worldly government with its bloody judgment and condemnation, also the law of Moses, neither can nor dare be found in the Christian church, for the worldly sword and

also the law of Moses kill and do not free the sinner. But Christ in His church forgives the sinner his sins when he renounces his sins. But he who will not renounce his sins, such an one He (Christ) commands to excommunicate and not to kill according to the body as the law of Moses and the worldly sword does.

The discipline (*Verordnung*) of Christ, which is brotherly admonition, reproof, and excommunication, works for salvation (*dient zum Heil*).

But the law and the sword of this world sever a man from this life in body and soul, even though he should desire to amend his life immediately. Hence, there is a difference as great as between heaven and earth between Christ and Moses, between the church and the children of this world. Therefore, if Christ is really to count for something (*gelten*) here in His kingdom, which is not material but spiritual, Moses, the servant (*Knächt*) must give way, with his literalistic law, for a spiritual kingdom cannot carry nor use a material sword. Worldly kings carry a material sword because their kingdom is material, but our king Christ is a spiritual king and has an eternal kingdom, wherefore His sword dare not be material but spiritual.

Judgment does not belong to us but to Christ. Those who adhere to Christ, "the suffering lamb" (*dem geduldigen Lämmlein*), will destroy no one, "neither the heathen nor any man at all, neither with the punishment of the law nor with a worldly sword nor with anything, yea they kill no one on all of holy Mt. Zion."

The author further treats of communism of goods (*Gütergemeinschaft*), which he conceives of in a general sense in that one helps his needy brother according to ability. "Where such are not found among the brethren and Christians, there is no genuine Christianity."

In conclusion the author considers it necessary to write concerning the oath and swearing. The punishment of God will come upon those who take the name of God in vain. The oath (*Jurament*) is a vow. Just as one binds himself to God in water baptism, and two persons promise faithfulness to each other in marriage, so one should swear allegiance to God in "the things concerning God," but otherwise "not swear at all, as Christ our Lord teaches us." The Christian reader will find further instruction in the Bible, so that he may follow the "teaching of Christ, His holy Word, and His life, by the power of God until the end."

Christ the shepherd (according to Ezekiel 34) will lead His people so that they keep His commandments. He is the good shepherd, who has completed His work with His sacrifice, as Zachariah says: I will smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered. The sacrificial lamb (Isa. 53 and Ps. 22) has accomplished the will of God completely (Psalm 40). As an eternal high priest He executed His priestly office, particularly in "His prayer" (highpriestly prayer, John 17).

After the fully atoning offering (*vollgültige Opfer*) of the high priest Christ (of which the Levitical priesthood was a type) was completed, He received a royal priesthood. Many, however, do not recognize the difference between the Old and New Testament, "desire themselves to be scribes and rabbis . . . but then the whole world is full of false prophets, preachers of lies and messengers of men." "The teaching of Christ is our teaching, which is not literal but spiritual." This teaching shall now animate "the right and true Christian." As the elect people of God, as a royal priesthood, they shall show forth His virtues. The temple of Solomon was a type of Christ's temple, which is spiritual. We must also have a most holy temple and "tabernacle of God," which is Christ, to whom we bring ourselves as a sacrifice.

(Continued on page 72)

BOOK REVIEWS

Paraguayan Interlude. By Willard H. Smith and Verna Graber Smith. Scottdale, Pa.: The Herald Press, 1950. Illustrated, appendix, index. Pp. 184. $2.25.

It is surprising how interesting a skillful combination of a travelogue, a diary, and a service record can be made. *Paraguayan Interlude*, however, is more than this. In writing about his experiences and observations Dr. Smith, Professor of History in Goshen College, has used his training as a historian to excellent advantage. Places visited, persons met, and events recorded become alive and vivid with meaning because they are placed into the larger pattern of the fabric of history.

The personal, intimate style of writing employed gives the narrative the reality and vividness of experience, and helps to make it interesting for the ordinary uninformed reader for whose primary benefit it apparently was written. It has value, however, for every person interested in the struggles of pioneer life, especially of those who for conscience' sake have sought a new home. It commands special attention among those interested in Mennonite history as it is unfolding in South America.

The author after briefly explaining the occasion for his trip to Paraguay and the nature of the service to be rendered there proceeds to give an interesting account of experiences and observations en route. Persons and not places or occurrences prove the most interesting part of this experience. Out of these multiplied contacts with persons arise interesting conversations, amusing incidents, and enlightening insights into the thoughts of others and their estimate of North Americans. A person traveling in a foreign country often learns as much about North Americans as he learns about the people he visits.

The chapter on "Paraguay—The Land and the People" provides a valuable historical background for the report of his service experiences. The story of the settlement of the Chaco first by Canadian Mennonites and then by Mennonite refugees from Russia is brief but gives a clear and picturesque description of early pioneer privations and struggles. The chapters following describe how the tensions of World War II had also penetrated so remote a corner of the earth as the Paraguayan Chaco and they reveal something of the unhappy results that ensued. But Dr. Smith also points out how these experiences acted as a refining fire which helped to burn out the dross in the Christian faith and life of these settlers. Many other experiences and incidents are described that reveal the life, problems, successes, and failures of these pioneer Mennonite settlements in South America.

The "Asuncion" chapter, written by Mrs. Smith, adds a valuable touch to the book because it helps us see this Paraguayan capital, its people and its life through the eyes of a woman and from the angle of the home. It also gives an insight into the deeper service of love rendered to Paraguayan Mennonites by the Mennonite Central Committee center in Asuncion and into the opportunity this center offers for a Christian witness to Paraguay generally.

The report of the service of Dr. and Mrs. Smith is written with such modesty and restraint, and with such a sympathetic understanding of the people they went to serve, and with such a fine sensitive regard for their feelings, that one nowhere is offended either by an unnecessary obtrusion of self into the story, or by a lack of generous courtesy in describing the people they served.

This book has certain limitations partly due to the intimate style of writing and partly due to its limited purpose. Those looking for a thorough systematic study of the Mennonite settlements in Paraguay will not find their hopes fully realized. However, persons interested in a sympathetic close-up picture of the pioneer life of Mennonites seeking a new home in Paraguay will find here a book well worth reading.

Bethel College. Henry A. Fast

Mennonite Community Cookbook. By Mary Emma Showalter. Philadelphia: the John C. Winston Company. Authorized by The Mennonite Community Association, Scottdale, Pa., 1950. Illustrated, index. Pp. 494. $3.50. De luxe edition, thumb indexed, $4.50.

This collection of favorite recipes from Mennonite families in various communities in the United States and Canada is given a Pennsylvania German flavor by its attractive cover design, the quaint drawings by Naomi Nissley, and the sprightly introductions to each chapter. Although only the cake recipes were laboratory tested, all the recipes are written with standard measures and directions.

In order to make the book more usable than it would be if only old recipes were recorded, the author has selected many favorite recipes of relatively recent origin. A careful study of the recipes printed in this volume reveals that less than half of them are "spelled out from batter-spattered and yellowing old notebooks" (quoted from jacket) and brought up-to-date for the first time. However, the inclusion of several hundred recipes typical of the cookery of several generations ago is an outstanding contribution to present-day cookery. The Mennonites of Dutch, German, Swiss, or Russian backgrounds have been known for their emphasis upon good food. Those of Pennsylvania German background have influenced present-day American cookery. In recent years several books and pamphlets have appeared on the subject. The most recent and perhaps the best authenticated one, *Pennsylvania German Cookery,* by Ann Hark and Preston H. Barba, published by Schlechters, 1950, is dedicated to "The Pennsylvania German Hausfrau of nine generations, who silently and unsung, influenced the cookery of a great nation, and wrought better than she knew." Dr. Barba states in the preface to their book that "although the influence of their cookery is nation-wide, they have in turn also readily adapted themselves to the cooking of other racial groups." Miss Showalter's collection of favorite recipes from Mennonite families verifies this statement. For along with such old-fashioned Pennsylvania German favorites as Snitz and Knepp, Springerle, Leb Kuchen, Shoo Fly Pie, Rivel Soup, Flannel Cakes, Funny Cake Pie, Scrapple, and Fastnachts are Texas Hash, Swedish Meat Dish, Yorkshire Pudding, Hungarian Goulash, Italian Spaghetti, Spanish Hamburger, Chop Suey, Hot Tamale, Turkish Delight, and Mexican Orange Candy. This adaptation to the cookery of the surrounding culture is evidenced further by the number of recipes sent in by Mennonite cooks which are distinctly twentieth-century American; for example: puffed rice candy, candy made with rice krispies, caramel candy made with evaporated milk, jiffy chocolate fudge made with sweetened condensed milk, graham cracker pie crust filled with uncooked lemon filling made with condensed milk, basket ball fluff made with marshmallows, the many gelatin salads and desserts, and refrigerator ice creams.

The cookbook has been arranged in the traditional food groupings: breads, soups, meat and meat dishes, poultry and fish, cheese, egg and cas-

serole dishes, vegetables and vegetable dishes, salads and salad dressings, cakes and frostings, cookies, desserts, pastry, pie and tarts, beverages, pickles and relishes, jellies, jams, and preserves, candies and confections, and a miscellaneous section. The name and address of the contributors appear with each recipe. In some instances two or more names from widely separated communities appear under the same recipe. No effort has been made to point up food habits typical of communities with different cultural backgrounds. By paging through the book, the reviewer was impressed that most of the contributions from the Newton, Kansas, and Mountain Lake, Minnesota, communities were typically Russian Mennonite and could be distinguished as such by the recipe titles or subtitles: Bubbat, a favorite of the Russian Mennonites, Russian Easter Bread (Paska), Russian Pancakes, Stretzzel, Schnetki, Roll Kuchen, Streusel Kuchen, Borsch, Pflaumenus, Pluma Moos, Piroshki, Colubtzi, Pfeffernusse, Cucumber Salad (Russian), and Geburtstagkuchen and Kaffee (an original recipe from Russian Mennonite refugees of World War II).

On the other hand, many typical Swiss, Alsatian, and Dutch dishes are not distinguished so readily. Although a few recipes are labeled as "old" or "very old" and some are recognized as old recipes by their titles, many of our young cooks of this generation will not detect whether the recipe is one which reflects the cookery of their great-grandmothers or not. For example, on page 70 there is a Ham Loaf recipe which is a rather common present-day one, and below it is Fried Ham with Cream Sauce, more typical of our great-grandmother's cooking, but no indication of this is given in the recipes. However, the author in a very interesting manner points out in the introduction to each chapter the Pennsylvania German ways with food in Grandmother and Great-grandmother's days. The attractive color pictures of Grandmother's table, pies, cakes, dumplings, ginger cookies, stuffed pig stomach, scrapple, souse, fancy butter molds, and corn soup with rivels, highlight the old-fashioned accents in food.

It is regrettable that a book so artistically done and bearing the imprint of the Mennonite Community Association should be marred by an inaccurate statement on the cover and jacket of the first edition. "Fourteen hundred mouth-watering recipes from old Mennonite cookbooks." The author definitely states in her introduction, p. x, that the book "includes favorite recipes of our own day," and a careful count of the total number of recipes in the volume yields less than 1200. The book is worthy of standing on its own merits and requires no overstatements or "puffed advertising." It brings together in an attractive usable form a variety of delectable recipes and preserves for future generations many old ones.

Goshen College. Olive G. Wyse.

AN ANCIENT ANABAPTIST WITNESS

(Continued from page 69)

"The almighty merciful God now give us His grace, power and might, that we may rightly keep His sabbath here, that after this life we may attain with all the elect the eternal sabbath and rest in Christ Jesus our Lord, Amen. B. Clements Adler 1529."

[N.B. The discovery of the Adler manuscript is a most important one. No other full treatise by an Anabaptist on this subject is known. Research is under way to discover who Adler was and where he lived, and whether other copies of the treatise are extant either in manuscript or printed form. If it has never been published before, it will be made available in some form within the coming year by the REVIEW.—*The Editors.*]